

LUIS DE LEON

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FRAY LUIS DE LEÓN

LUIS DE LEON

(A Study of the Spanish Renaissance)

by

AUBREY F. G. BELL



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TO THE NEW SPAIN WHICH SHALL
BE WORTHY OF THE OLD

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P R E F A C E

A SPANISH proverb says that a living novice is better than a dead bishop, and Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon complained that the hares insulted the dead lion.¹ Yet all Luis de Leon's works, prose and poetry, Spanish and Latin, bear the hall-mark of the Renaissance and of his extremely individual genius—*ex ungue leonem*—in a fervour and multiplicity of interest which should have attracted scholars. It is only by study of his works as a whole that such exquisite flowers of his genius as the Night of Stars, or the Ode to Salinas, or the Ascension, can be fully understood. Recently a vast amount of new matter concerning Luis de Leon has become available, mainly owing to the untiring industry and unfailing insight and ability of the distinguished Augustinian writer, Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela. The very able French critic, M. Adolphe Coster, one of the few scholars who in his researches has consulted the Latin works of Luis de Leon, has made use of this fresh material up to the year 1919, but much more has since seen the light in the *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano* and the *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*. It has been the object of the present study to bring Luis de Leon the man nearer to the reader, and, with that end in view, chiefly such passages from his works have been quoted as bear on his life and character. Both are still imperfectly understood by the majority of those who read his poems. They scarcely realize his many-sidedness, nor that he was a keen man of business, even one might say a man of the world, to whom

¹ *De Agno Typico* (Matriti, 1604). See Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, vol. ii (1906), p. 72; C. Muiños Sáenz, *Fr. Luis de León y Fr. Diego de Zúñiga* (1914), p. 13; Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana*, vol. vi (1922), p. 344.

matters requiring the utmost tact¹ and knowledge of men were entrusted. His life was one of never-ending activity to the day of his death; his stimulating lectures fired generations of undergraduates, and his poems and prosé treatises had an immediate influence on Spanish literature, undoubtedly inspiring Cervantes and San Juan de la Cruz, as well as a host of secondary writers. All the pictures of peace and retirement in his poems were but an ideal to which he attained at most for a few days in his busy life. More typical is the glimpse we have of him hurrying from a lecture through the streets of Salamanca.² He had ridden across Spain as frequently as George Borrow: from Salamanca to and fro to Valladolid and Madrigal, Dueñas, Belmonte, and Madrid; once at least from Salamanca to Granada and back, and from Madrid to Córdoba, and back to Belmonte; to Toledo, Alcalá, Burgos, Soria on the confines of Aragon, and Sahagun near Asturias.³ It is perhaps not without interest to know details of the life and thought of Spain's greatest lyric poet, the outstanding figure of the later Spanish Renaissance, especially since his life belongs to the years which to many foreigners are represented by the distorted shadows of Philip II and the Inquisitors and by the glare and flames of the *autos de fé*, and the outspoken opinions of a man so sincere and truthful are an excellent touchstone. When Spain was at the height of her civilization in the middle of the sixteenth century, she could without present loss of culture build a wall against the invasion of foreign heresies and foreign manners; but foreign historians

¹ Cf. his remark in *De los Nombres de Cristo* ii. 45 (the edition quoted throughout is that of the *Clásicos Castellanos*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1914, 1917, 1922): 'Y en la prudencia lo más fino della y en lo que más se señala es el dar orden como se venga a fines estremados y altos y dificultosos por medios comunes y llanos y sin que en ellos se turbe en lo demás el buen orden'; and *Opera* ii. 214: 'Ac si nobis ea nostra consilia placere maxime solent quibus, cum aut nihil agere aut aliud prorsus agere videamur, id potissimum efficimus quod nobis proposuimus efficere, ad exitumque felicem et optatum nostra instituta perducimus, ipsi interim ut appareat otiosi.'

² *Doc. inéd.* x. 84 and 490: 'iba el dicho fray Luis de priesa'.

³ With regard to the year 1590-91 it was said of him that 'ha hecho muchos caminos', and he was then old and ill.

cannot, without coming to grief, stand outside that wall and describe the internal life of Spain from the reports of a few Protestant refugees or the characteristically bitter *criticismo* of Spanish satirists, nor persuade themselves, because they can no longer see the light on the trans-Pyrenean side of the wall, that the light had gone out, leaving the Peninsula in a Cimmerian darkness and apathy. It is not only in the centres of culture, Salamanca or Alcalá, that one must look for the influence of the Renaissance in Spain, but he who penetrates for a moment to the busy life and thought of Salamanca in the second half of the sixteenth century will find plenty of food for meditation. One of the reasons for the false legend which from the middle of that century grew up concerning Spain was the increasing vogue of the vernacular in Europe and the neglect of works written in Latin. Yet it might have been surmised that when the keenest and noblest minds of the greatest nation of Europe expressed the flower and cream of their thought not in Spanish but in Latin, their Latin works might contain matter of interest; and in this expectation the reader of Luis de Leon's Latin works, as of those of so many of his contemporaries, is not disappointed. Nor can commentators of the Bible even to-day dispense, except at their peril, with his exegetical works: his Latin commentary on the *Song of Songs* and other commentaries are as living and personal as that masterpiece of Spanish prose which remained in manuscript for two centuries, the *Exposicion de Job*. To give an adequate account of Luis de Leon as a theologian and a philosopher would require a theologian and a philosopher and another volume. The reader must be referred to Fray Marcelino Gutiérrez's excellent *Fray Luis de León y la filosofía española del siglo xvi* (1893). The humbler ambition of the present book will have been attained if it succeeds in inspiring a few readers with a more living interest in a man who was all fire and energy, a Castilian blend of Milton, Wordsworth, and Savonarola, and in one of the most fascinating periods of

art and literature : sixteenth-century Spain. Luis de Leon must have considered his arrest as a bitter ending to all his studies, yet without his trial a hundred details of his life and character and friends would never have been known to posterity. The records of the Inquisition trials have something of the fascination of Browning's *The Ring and the Book*. The same event is described from a dozen different points of view ; students, friars, learned professors and divines, priors of convents, a Salamanca book-seller, even the convent porter and a barber,¹ are presented to us, and their exact words reproduced ; so that a page of sixteenth-century life is brought vividly before us.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

September, 1923.

¹ Francisco de Palacios, who says ' Es amigo e quiere bien al dicho fray Luis de Leon porques barbero del dicho maestro ' (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 327).

I

Spain and the Renaissance

'There come, however, from time to time, eras of more favourable conditions, in which the thoughts of men draw nearer together than is their wont, and the many interests of the intellectual world combine in one complete type of general culture.'—WALTER PATER.

in that glorious time
When Learning, like a stranger come from far,
Sounding through Christian lands her trumpet, roused
Peasant and king.

WORDSWORTH.

IN an eloquent sentence Prescott spoke of Spain in the sixteenth century as 'shut out from the light'. Later works dealing with the Renaissance have ignored the Peninsula, and the extraordinarily fascinating and important subject of the Spanish Renaissance has remained a closed book to English readers.¹ It is clear that in the sixteenth century a certain legend of Spain's 'barbariousnesse' already existed. Azpilcueta, Matamoros, and El Brocense defended their country against such charges, but the legend continued. It is easy for a modern reader to imagine Spain in the sixteenth century as utterly stationary or reactionary, a dull and narrow place from which the very name of Plato was banished. Yet, if we penetrate behind this screen of foreign ignorance, we find such a fervour of learning as was scarcely surpassed in any other country in Europe, a fervour none the less great because it was marked by the dignity and

¹ Even the *Cambridge Modern History* declares that 'Spain was definitely ranged on the side of those forces which were reacting against the liberal studies of the Renaissance'; 'Greek learning did not prosper in the Peninsula.' (Vol. i, *The Renaissance*, p. 578.) It would be possible to fill a chapter with similar quotations in which 'the ignorance of Spain' bears a meaning quite different from that intended by the authors. The excellent volume of the Home University Library on *The Renaissance*, by Edith Sichel, contains no reference to Spain or Portugal. In Spain magnificent work towards an understanding of the Spanish Renaissance has been done by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Don Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, and many other writers who have produced monographs remarkable for their scholarship and learning. (See Appendix, Bibliography.)

restraint characteristic of Spain, by that democratic atmosphere which scarcely suffered learning to take refuge from the street, and, alas, by the private envy and enmities which perturbed the life of Luis de Leon and Arias Montano, and El Brocense. But they lived in spacious days and, however much the individual might suffer, shared in the greatness of their country. The Old Cathedral at Salamanca, austere and beautiful, is full of character and delightful sculpture; but every time one passes from it up the steps into the New Cathedral one cannot help being surprised by the spaciousness and magnificence of the new building. The contrast gives an excellent idea of the change that came over Spain in the sixteenth century. The full glory of the Renaissance reached the Peninsula rather late, but in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, coinciding with an abundance of gold from Mexico and Peru, it flowered into a period of extraordinary splendour. At the end of the fifteenth century, when Spain under the Catholic Kings had become an united kingdom and the Moors had been driven from their last stronghold of Granada, she could look back on eight centuries of almost unbroken warfare. She already possessed magnificent buildings and a noble literature, but could scarcely be described as a country where learning flourished, although a few scholars there had always been ready and able to hand on the torch of classical learning received largely through Arabic translations, while with Lull, the great Spanish-Arabic philosophers, the Toledo school of translators, the works of Alfonso the Learned and San Isidro, she received a splendid heritage from the Middle Ages.¹

If the works of Alfonso the Learned (1221-84), in advance of their age, laid the sure basis of the Spanish language three and a half centuries before the translation of the Bible did the same for English, this and the sturdy independence of Spanish character would be a hindrance rather than a help in accepting the new learning from Italy. Yet in the Spanish poets of the fifteenth century Italian influence is already evident. The Marqués de Santillana represents both the indigenous and the erudite schools,

¹ Cf. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento* (Madrid, 1903), p. 29: 'la tradición clásica jamás se había interrumpido entre nosotros.'

and wrote sonnets 'al italico modo' as well as his exquisite *serranillas*. Rodriguez de la Cámara in his *Siervo libre de Amor* (1440) names a crowd of classics, including Dante, Plato, Virgil, and Homer. When Fernando de Córdoba arrived at Naples in 1444, Lorenzo Valla could describe him, then in his nineteenth year, as a Nestor for his learning (including Latin and Greek),¹ and Alonso de Palencia studied in Italy under Bessarion. It is probable, although not certain, that D. Alonso de Cartagena (1396-1456) knew Greek, since he could discuss the translation of Aristotle with Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo. It was of that learned Spaniard that the Pope said in 1438, 'If the Bishop of Burgos comes to Rome, I shall be ashamed to sit upon the throne of St. Peter.'

The rapid development of the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century attracted the attention of Italian humanists. Politian offered himself to João II, the Perfect, to sing the deeds of the Portuguese. A few Italian scholars came to Spain, where the poetry of Dante had had in the preceding century an eager admirer in Francisco Imperial. The two brothers, Antonio and Alessandro Giralдино, came as tutors to the daughters of the Catholic Kings; the Sicilian Lucio Marineo Siculo was Professor of Latin Eloquence and Poetry at Salamanca from 1484 to 1496.

Salamanca, while retaining something of the scientific tradition of the Middle Ages, handed down by Arabic scholars of Córdoba and Toledo, and clinging to Scholasticism, had early welcomed the new learning, and the instances of Lucio Marineo and, a generation later, the Portuguese Aires Barbosa (†1540) and Pedro Margalho (†1558), professor at Salamanca from 1517 to 1530, and Rector of the Colegio de Oviedo, prove that her Chairs were not kept exclusively for native scholars. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century a keen breath of the Renaissance already blew through those narrow streets. In a letter dated September 28, 1488, and addressed to the Conde de Tendilla, the Milanese humanist Pietro Martyr d'Anghiera, long resident in Spain, gives us a lively account of how he lectured at Salamanca

¹ A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Fernando de Córdoba* (?1425-? 1486) (Madrid, 1911), p. 55.

on the Second Satire of Juvenal at the invitation of Lucio Marineo. The lecture had been publicly announced by the crier. It was a Thursday, the day of the week on which the Schools were closed, and as a result such a crowd of students assembled that it was almost impossible for the lecturer to force a way into the Schools. Grave doctors armed themselves with staves and whips in order to assist the bedel, and advanced slowly with shouts and threats and blows. Men fainted, caps were lost, cloaks torn. The lecturer was carried in over the heads of the crowd. A lecture of an hour and a half effectively diminished this ardour; some of the students, after listening with silent attention for an hour, even began to shuffle with their feet; but the lecturer was accompanied home in triumph.¹ Half a century later we find the same enthusiasm for the lectures of Clenardus,² as also for those of Vitoria. But the torchbearers of the Renaissance in Spain were not only or chiefly foreigners. Elio Antonio de Lebrija (Nebrissensis) (c. 1445-1522)—his father's name was Martinez—'egregius ille senex', as Erasmus called him, was its real inaugurator. When he returned from Italy in 1473 he came well equipped for the task. The Spanish College at Bologna where he studied was founded in 1365 by Cardinal Gil de Albornoz and produced many notable scholars, as, for instance, the Sevillian Juan Montes de Oca (†1552), who entered the College in 1493, and after staying at Carpi with Alberto Pio, 'divino principem ingenio', as he calls him, became Professor of

¹ *Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Angleri Mediolanensis* (Parisiis, 1670), i. 57: 'Itaque post meridiem hora secunda, crastina die, peregrinum hominem de Juvenale professurum per praecones edicitur. Erat is dies Jovis, quo vacatur a publicis lectionibus. Tanta priorum accessit multitudo ut scholas ingredi minime potuerimus. Doctores plerique, ut scholastico militi (quem Bidellum vocant) ad iter aperiendum faverent, lanceis ac fustibus se accingunt: inclamitando, minando, percutiendo fit via. Capior ego hominum cervicibus et ad suggestum pensilis feror. Cucullatus unus Gometius a Toletio, tibi a Comitissa Coriana, ipsius matre, consanguineus, Alfonsusque Acevedus, Archiepiscopi Compostellani filius, et inferiores alii plures e multitudine semisuffocati efferuntur. Crepidae innumerae, pilei non pauci amittuntur. Pallia lacerantur . . . hora tertia iam me arguenti, quod prolixus essem, duo iuvenes, ut moris est, pedibus terram perfricant, improbantur a senioribus . . . Domum tanquam ex Olympo victorem primarii me comitantur.'

² *Nicolai Clenardi Epistolarum libri duo* (Hanoviae, 1606): 'Hodie Graecam professionem sum auspicatus auditorio tam frequenti ut locus deesset' (Clenardus to Vasaesus).

Philosophy at the Universities of Rome, Padua, Pisa, and Florence, and the celebrated Sepúlveda and El Pinciano. Lebrija was not only a Latin and Greek scholar and grammarian, with original views on the pronunciation of Greek, but a thinker deeply versed in such scientific subjects as cosmography, weights and measures, and navigation.¹ During nearly fifty years as Professor at Salamanca, and later at Alcalá, he worked and wrote not only for 'the learned few and those cunning in subtle and difficult questions' but for a wider public.² And very soon he was not alone. Aires Barbosa, who succeeded him as professor at Salamanca, and excelled him in Greek scholarship, was a Portuguese about whom we know tantalizingly little. He had been a pupil of Politian and worthily upheld Salamanca's reputation for humane studies of which Lebrija had laid the basis so solidly. During the next half-century eminent Portuguese such as the humanist Diogo de Teive (Jacobus Tevius), Jeronimo Osorio, known as the Portuguese Cicero, the botanist Orta, Pedro Margalho, Professor of Philosophy, the scientist Pedro Nunez, the antiquarian André de Resende, studied at Salamanca, and nothing better shows the greatness of this Spanish university than the fact that these eminent men constitute but a tiny group in the galaxy of Spanish names famous during, or after, their stay on the banks of the Tormes. With Italy relations were very frequent. It was not only that part of Italy was under Spanish rule and many Spanish writers were soldiers in Italy, wielding alternately pen and sword, as Cardinal Ximenes had combined *pluma, púrpura y espada*, but the most promising students were sent over to finish their university career at the Spanish College at Bologna, and would often spend many years in Italy before returning to Spain, while young Spaniards of fashion travelled in Italy and came back, according to Arias Montano's complaint, half ashamed to speak their native tongue, with

Report of fashions in proud Italy,
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
Limps after in vile imitation.

¹ Nicolás Antonio divides his works into the following subjects: grammar, philology, poetry, history, law, medicine, religion; and even so he omits science.

² Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol. iii, col. 360.

In 1545 Azpilcueta protested against the banishment of prayers and hymns from the Spanish schools in imitation of those of Italy (imitando en esto más de lo que es menester a las italianas). The best thinkers of the Spanish Renaissance rejected the frivolity and paganism reigning in Italy as they rejected the Protestantism of the north; but the eagerness for learning was very great in the Peninsula. Spain might have begun late, but even so she produced in the first half of the sixteenth century ten Greek scholars for every one produced by England, and in fact soon made good her deficiencies.¹ The new learning extended to the nobility and to women. Even the proud Basques who had not bowed their necks to Rome submitted to the milder yoke of the humanities.² Queen Isabel the Catholic herself studied Latin with Beatriz Galindo (c. 1475-1534), 'la Latina', the earliest of a group of learned ladies including Francisca de Lebrija, Isabel de Vergara, Luisa Sigea, the Marquesa de Zenete, and many other names, so numerous indeed that Nicolás Antonio in referring to Oliva Sabuco de Nantes' learning (which, however, is now considered to have been merely the borrowed light of that of her father), as rare in her sex, adds a saving clause in favour of Spain.³ Doña Lucía de Medrano is said to have held a chair at Salamanca.

Learning, which before the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella had been looked at askance by the nobility,⁴ now invaded their ranks. Lucio Marineo, in a list of the learned men of

¹ Cf. Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, i. 71: 'Pues por tarde que han llegado a nosotros las buenas artes parece que poco menos se han nacido entre nuestros solares, segun el buen punto en que estan agora puestos'; Francisco Cervantes de Salazar († 1575), *Obras* (1773), p. 47: 'aun en nuestra España, que, como sabes, más que las otras provincias estava barbara, ai ya tan excelentes varones . . . por doquiera que fueras toparas hombres doctos.'

² Alfonso Garcia Matamoros, *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione* (1553), f. 44: 'Cantabria illa ferox, quae sera (ut Flacus [*sic*] canit) vineta est catena, nunc primum (quod est ingentis admirationis) & latine loqui & philosophari coepit.' The names of Vitoria, Azpilcueta, Huarte, and others warrant this praise.

³ *Bibliotheca Nova*, s.v. Oliva: 'rarum in sexu decus, quamvis inter Hispanas minus rarum.' His *Gymnaecium Hispanae Minervae* contains some fifty names, including Portugal (*Bib. Nov.* ii. 343-53).

⁴ Cf. Sepúlveda, *Democrates* (1535), Praefatio: 'Prius enim [before Ferdinand and Isabella] rarissimum erat Hispanum hominem illustri loco natum videre qui vel litteras latinās didicisset, credo propter bella,' &c. In 1522 Guevara writes that 'el valeroso caballero no se ha de preciar de tener gran librería sino buena armería.'

Spain about the year 1530, includes the names of several great nobles, and speaks of the young Constable Don Pedro de Velasco as lecturing on Ovid and Pliny at Salamanca.¹ A quarter of a century later García Matamoros says that it was considered a disgrace in Spain for a man of noble birth not to know Latin.² El Brocense might complain, like Vives and Ascham, that men still ate acorns and left the good wheaten bread untasted; Alexo de Vanegas might declare that the great were more given to spend money on music in their private chapels, costly plate, and the pleasures of the chase than in encouraging men of learning.³ But this was not a grievance peculiar to Spain, and it is clear that the Renaissance there was a sturdy and magnificent growth, second to none in Europe. Universities sprang up on every side, no less than twenty were founded in Spain in the sixteenth century.⁴ In 1498 Cardinal Ximenes had laid the first stone of the University of Alcalá, which opened in 1508. Salamanca and Alcalá during the sixteenth century had about ten thousand students, scarcely a quarter of this number belonging to the younger and richer university.⁵ From these universities men were chosen, regardless of birth, for the highest posts in the State. Every day, says Luis de Leon, we see men changing places, and it often happens that men born in obscurity attain the highest dignity and power.⁶ Fray Juan de Regla, the *estudiantico tan*

¹ See M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica* (Biblioteca de la Revista de Archivos), pp. 840-2. Menéndez Pelayo's projected work 'Humanistas Españoles' was never written and this fragment of a bibliography only goes down to the letter C (Cicero).

² *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione* (Compluti, 1553), f. 36 v.: 'Ventum enim iam est ad ea tempora quum non tam praeclarum est scire latine quam turpe nescire . . . ut multi etiam viri nobiles arbitrati sint nunquam se veram nobilitatem esse adepturos . . . nisi plus attigissent eruditionis quam quantum prima illa puerili institutione fuissent imbuti.'

³ Prólogo to Luis Mexias, *Apologo de la Ociosidad y del Trabajo*.

⁴ Cf. García Matamoros, *op. cit.*, f. 44. 'Nusquam autem, quod ego legerim, aut plures olim academiae fuerunt aut priuata eruditorum collegia quam hodie sunt in Hispania.'

⁵ Cervantes, however, speaks of 5,000 students at Alcalá (*Novelas pías*, 1613, f. 241 v.)

⁶ *La Perfecta Casada*, § xi: 'se puede volver el aire mañana y a los que sirven agora servirlos ellos despues, y si no ellos sus hijos o sus nietos, como cada día acontece;' *Opera*, i. 373-4: 'quod, quemadmodum vitae exempla docent, saepe accidat ut humili et obscuro loco nati propter industriam animi atque virtutem ad altissimum dignitatis atque potentiae gradum ascendant.' Of Philip II Cabrera says (ii. 354) that he preferred 'la virtud al nacimiento

pobre, became confessor to Charles V and Philip II; Cardinal Quiroga was penniless when he went to Salamanca; Soto was the son of a gardener of Segovia; Chacon, the learned scholar who won the friendship and respect of Gregory XIII, Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando, and many more, were of humble birth; Perez de Ayala, who died as Archbishop of Valencia, had shivered before dawn as a young boy outside his village church, waiting to be taught the rudiments of Latin; Fray Juan de Marquina, Prior of Guadalupe, had taught himself to read amid the clamour of a smithy.¹ So a zeal for learning penetrated into the furthest, most obscure corners of Spain, and starving boys tramped many a weary league to reach Salamanca.² Primary schools were then unknown, but even in the remotest village the priest or some other person would give a first smattering of education, and means would be found to provide any promising boy with a small sum of money to enable him to continue his studies in one of the great Spanish universities. To us now they appear still as the mediaeval *studium generale*, with cowed students conversing in Latin, but new visions of wide horizons were stirring the minds of men. Columbus had discovered a new world:

A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo mundo dió Colon;

Vasco da Gama had sailed to India, Cabral had discovered Brazil; the seemingly inexhaustible riches of Mexico and Peru had been given to Spain by Cortés and Pizarro; in 1520 Magalhães set out from Seville to sail round the Earth and in 1522 El Cano returned to the Guadalquivir, having accomplished the feat. Twenty-one years later Copernicus published at Nürnberg his *De orbium coelestium revolutionibus libri IV*, showing that the Earth thus circumnavigated was itself in motion. It would have been a marvel if Scholasticism, which the Spanish had the wisdom to retain, had not enlarged its scope; and Aristotelianism, like a illustre por menor a ella ["son títulos menores", said Luis de Leon] y así en su reinado se aplicaron todos a las letras.'

¹ Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ii. 199 (entre los fuelles y fragua).

² Cf. Vicente Espinel, *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, Prólogo: 'Dos estudiantes iban a Salamanca, desde Antequera . . . Ambos eran pobres. Caminando una tarde del verano por aquellos llanos y vegas, pereciendo de sed, &c.'

sunlit cloud, became bathed despite itself in the light of Platonism. In the middle of the sixteenth century Luis de Leon (1561) can speak of the uselessness of the education¹ given to the great Soto, and Garcia Matamoros (1553) can deplore that scholars so eminent as the mathematician Gaspar Lax de Sarineña, Fernando de Enzinas, the brothers Luis and Antonio Coronel, Juan Dolz del Castellar, and Jeronimo Pardo, were too exclusively logicians. The plague of 'sophists', he complains, with which the University of Paris had originally infected Spain, survived in nooks and corners of the Peninsula after they had been ousted from Paris itself.² El Brocense similarly inveighs against the hairsplitting of the grammarians; and Vives attacked the pseudo-dialecticians. It was, indeed, partly owing to the sturdy good sense of Spanish scholars that the world was able to break the fetters of vain pedantry. Lebrija had boasted that he had banished the 'postizos y contrahechos gramáticos'.

The Dominican Fray Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1480-1546) in the same way, as Professor at Salamanca during twenty years (1526-46), brought new life into the schools, with a humanity and comprehensiveness peculiarly Spanish. There was a certain Basque directness³ and simplicity about him, and Clenardus describes him as 'mire candidus; omnes studiosos amat unice',⁴ while his great pupil, Cano, declared that his intellect was as clear as it was profound. Born at the capital of Alava (the correct spelling of his name is Vitoria, Victoria being its Latin form), he studied at Paris and returned in 1522 to Valladolid, to the Dominican College of San Gregorio, rich in treasures of art. In 1526 he won the Prima Chair of Theology at Salamanca, and his fame rapidly spread through Europe, attracting scholars from many parts, a fame deserved by his strength of character as well as by his knowledge of international law. His work

¹ *Opera*, vii. 403.

² *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione*, ff 30, 41 v., 61, 62. Arias Montano called them 'stupidi sophistae'. Cf. Sigüenza. *op. cit.* i. 539: 'las escuelas de Paris provehian de esta gente bárbara y confusa a toda España.'

³ It is said that a nobleman came to him for advice, confessing that by false witness he had brought a man to ruin. Vitoria, perceiving that the straightforward course of a public confession was not intended, answered: 'What do I advise? I advise you to let yourself go to Hell!'

⁴ *Epistolarum libri duo* (1606), p. 151.

as lecturer at Salamanca was ably carried on by Cano and Soto. Of the great triumvirate of humanism in Europe, Erasmus, Guillaume Budé, and Vives, one was a Spaniard, who, although he had left his native Valencia at the age of seventeen, and spent the remainder of his too brief life in France, England, and Flanders, always retained his Spanish character and his love of Spain. To Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) rather than to Bacon must be ascribed that awakening of European thought which was to produce results so prodigious in the realms of art and science. Vives was peculiarly Spanish in his moderation, his comprehensive eclecticism, and his sincerity. Clearly this 'vir in omni literatura singularis', as Erasmus called him, was a worshipper at no shrine but that of Truth, to which he would pave a way freed from corrupt texts, foolish commentaries, and the ignorance and narrow pride of the various schools. One must brush aside these petty authorities (unusquisque constantissime defendit sua) and get back to independent judgement and investigation.¹ Nature was not yet exhausted, and observation might yet yield results truer than those of Aristotle, Plato, or any of the ancients. Truth belongs to no man and is open to all. 'Nobis examinare saltem ac censere nefas erit?'² A stimulating call indeed, which justifies us in describing him as a spring of living waters. In Spain itself the greatest scholar of the day was Hernan Núñez (1475?-1553), of the noble family of Guzman, who, being Comendador of the Order of Santiago, is often known as El Comendador Griego, and also from his birthplace, Valladolid, as El Pinciano. He is described as 'coelebs, castus, comis, festive dicax'. Returning from the Spanish College of Bologna, he was engaged for some years on the Greek text of the Alcalá Bible. The first Greek text of the New Testament ever printed was that (1514)³ of this Bible, and it was largely due to the exertions of El Pinciano and of Aires Barbosa (Arias Lusitanus) that the study

¹ Vives, *De causis corruptarum artium*, lib. i.

² *De Disciplinis* (1531), *Praefatio*. The *De Disciplinis* contains two separate treatises: the seven books of *De causis corruptarum artium* and the five books of *De tradendis disciplinis*. Vives wished, he said, 'intueri omnia, colligere, componere inter se et universam hanc naturam quasi possessionem suam peragrari.'

³ Erasmus' Greek Testament appeared in 1516. The date of the first Greek book published at Rome was 1515.

of Greek flourished in the Peninsula. El Pinciano as Professor of Greek at Alcalá gathered round him a brilliant group of Greek scholars including Lorenzo Balbo, Juan de Vergara (1493-1557), friend and correspondent of Marineo Siculo, and his brother Francisco de Vergara (†1544), whose Greek grammar appeared at Alcalá in 1537,¹ and who is described as 'ingenio inferior, studio major' than his brother,² and Leon de Castro (c. 1510-85). The chronicler, Jerónimo de Zurita (whose idol according to Agustín was Tacitus), and Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla were also pupils of El Pinciano. Leon de Castro became in turn the master of Juan de Mal-Lara (1525?-71) and Francisco Sanchez el Brocense (1523-1600) whose fame was destined to rival that of El Pinciano himself. His *Minerva* (1587) became one of the best known books of Europe, and was constantly re-edited till the end of the eighteenth century, but several of his shorter treatises still deserve to be read. The three or four Greek scholars whose names were known beyond the frontiers of Spain were not isolated phenomena, but were centres of groups, and had scholar friends scattered all over Spain, every town being able to boast some Greek scholar of repute. Thus we find El Brocense surrounded by scholars, including his brother Fernando and his Sevillian friend Juan de Mal-Lara, a poet whose Greek scholarship did not prevent him from taking an active interest in the Castilian language. In his *Psyche*, dedicated to the Infanta Juana, wife of the young Crown Prince of Portugal, and still in manuscript, he shows himself at intervals a poet of considerable charm.³ The Aristotelian humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490-1573?), the first Spanish Ciceronian and one of the first to translate Aristotle from the original Greek text,

¹ *De omnibus graecae linguae grammaticae partibus* (Compluti, 1537).

² Of Juan de Vergara the humanist Luis de la Cadena, Chancellor of Alcalá University, wrote in a fine epigram :

ille naturae dotibus
Adiutus effecit ne unquam posset mori.

Cf. Alvar Gomez de Castro :

Occidit heu Joannes lingua Vergara Latina
Inclutus et Graia.

³ For extracts from his *Psyche* see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica*, pp. 89-104. Following the example of El Pinciano, whose *Refranes* were edited by Leon de Castro in 1555, Mal-Lara published a collection of Spanish proverbs : *Philosophia Vulgar* (1568).

corresponded in the same way with scholars such as El Pinciano, the two brothers Valdés, Honorato Juan, tutor of Prince Philip, Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando, Antonio Agustín, Miguel de Medina, Pedro Mexia, the author of *Dialogos eruditos* (1547). Another friend, Alfonso Guaxardo, writes to him from a village near Córdoba, describing how he reads the Latin classics lying under the trees of his orchard. The fact is that classical learning was not confined to a few centres. In writing to Cano, Sepúlveda says: 'Against the few scholars of Salamanca and Alcalá I set the whole of the rest of Spain'.¹ There was the sensible, moderate Sepúlveda himself in his retirement at Pozoblanco, at the foot of the Sierra Morena, with his library of Greek books and manuscripts so carefully collected during a twenty years' sojourn in Italy. There was Benito Arias Montano, equally solitary at La Peña, with his precious Greek and Hebrew books from Italy and Flanders. The love of books was general, and the book-sellers of Venice and Antwerp had many excellent customers among Spaniards. Luis de Leon's friends knew that they could not please him better than by telling him of the arrival of a new book from Flanders or sending him manuscripts; even El Brocense, in perpetual battle with poverty, was well furnished with 'librorum supellectile'.² Diego de Covarrubias, before he succeeded Perez de Ayala as Bishop of Segovia in 1565, had purchased through Arias Montano a thousand ducats' worth of books at Venice. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-75), scholar and Maecenas, when living in Italy, at Rome and Venice, made fervent search for Greek books and manuscripts and accepted Greek codices in ransom for a nephew of the Sultan of Turkey. His magnificent library ultimately found its way to the Escorial, as did those of Antonio Agustín and Juan Paez de Castro (†1570), who devoted his Greek and Hebrew scholarship to collecting as well as writing books. Sepúlveda left his Greek MSS. to the Chapter of Córdoba Cathedral, and the Bishop of Segorbe, D. Juan Bautista Perez (1533-97), left his very choice and copious

¹ *Ad Melchiorum Canum*, § 29: 'Vos Salmanticenses et Complutenses, id est paucorum hominum sub universitatis nomine sententiam ostentatis; his nos reliquam omnem Hispaniam opponimus.' (*Opera*, 1780, vol. iii, pt. 3, p. 65.)

² Cf. *Francisci Sanctii* . . . *Opera*, iii. 44, ad fin.

library to the Chapter of Segorbe.¹ The Bishop of Plasencia, D. Pedro Ponce de Leon, also possessed an excellent library. El Pinciano at his death in 1553 left his large library to Salamanca University, which assigned 2,000 florins yearly for the acquisition of books.² At Seville the son of the discoverer of America, Hernán Colón, spared neither trouble nor expense in collecting his magnificent *Biblioteca Colombina*, showing the loving care and persistence of a true book-lover. Other excellent Seville libraries were those of Canon Francisco Pacheco, uncle of Velázquez's father-in-law, of Argote de Molina³ (who acquired some of the books of Ambrosio de Morales), and of the Duke of Alcalá, while the treasures of Arias Montano, the result of long residence in Flanders and Italy, were at La Peña, a few leagues to the north-west. Even at the little town of Archidona, between Granada and Seville, Luis Barahona de Soto (†1595) was exceedingly well supplied with books,⁴ while poetry and learning flourished at Granada, and Antequera was 'an Andalusian Athens'.⁵ Often the library was also a museum, as those of Pacheco, Argote de Molina, and the Canon of Tolosa, Francisco Fillol. On June 26, 1575, King Philip handed over the Escorial library to the Hieronymites; it consisted of 4,000 volumes of great rareness in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Castilian, Italian, and Lemosin.⁶ In 1577 the Library was catalogued by Arias Montano. It was a little difficult to escape King Philip. Customs officials at Irun might examine travellers as to the possession of 'forbidden books', but the King of Spain's love of books was as well known as that of Queen Elizabeth, and mules burdened with precious loads were continually on the way from the coast to the Escorial. Arias Montano collected for him in Flanders, and his ambassadors in France and Italy likewise had instructions to be on the look-

¹ 'Mui copiosa i escogida, llena de libros exquisitos.' (Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Vida de D. Antonio Agustín* (Madrid, 1734), p. 112.

² *Constitutio[n]es tam commodae | aptaeque, quam sanctae | Almae Salmanticae Academiae toto terrarum orbe florentissimae.* (Salmanticae, 1562.) f. 19 v.: 'in emendo libros & petias [sic] librorum lecturarum doctorū iuris canonici ciuilibus theologiae medicinae & philosophiae vsq; ad valorem duorum millium florenorum.'

³ See A. Millares Carlo, *La Bibhoteca de Gonzalo Argote de Molina*, in *Revista de Filología Española* (1923), pp. 137-152.

⁴ For the catalogue of his private library see F. Rodríguez Marín, *Luis Barahona de Soto* (1903), pp. 520-51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶ *Memorias de Fray Juan de San Geronimo* in *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 142.

out for windfalls. In Spain he sent Ambrosio de Morales on an antiquarian voyage of discovery through Leon, Asturias, and Galicia. Yet in 1587 Juan Bautista Cardona, Bishop of Tortosa (†1589), could write that there were whole libraries lurking in corners of the Peninsula, among them those of Martín Pérez de Ayala (1504-66), whom Arias Montano had accompanied to the Council of Trent, Agustín, Archbishop of Tarragona, Covarrubias, Miguel Tomás Taxaquet, who succeeded Agustín as Bishop of Lérida, Pedro Chacon, Alvar Gomez, Alfonso Salmeron, the Portuguese scholar Achilles Estação (Statius), Sepúlveda and Zurita, and of scholars still alive Arias Montano (†1598), Pedro Juan Núñez (he had a good Greek library), Juan Bautista Pérez (†1597), and Juan Bautista Monllor.¹ Antonio Agustín (1516-86), son of the Vice-Chancellor of Aragon, studied for two years at Alcalá, for seven at Salamanca, and finally at the Spanish College at Bologna. His brother became Bishop of Huesca, and his sister married the Duke of Cardona. In 1555 he was sent as Legate to England with Osorio's intimate friend, the learned Metelo Sequano, but was back at Rome in January 1556. He returned to Spain after the Council of Trent in 1564. Scholar and antiquarian, he rendered to law services similar to those conferred on grammar by El Brocense, by clearing away useless pedantry, and gave much attention to palaeography and numismatics. A special catalogue of his Greek and Latin MSS. was published at Tarragona in 1586, immediately after his death. Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva (1512-77), son of Alfonso de Covarrubias, architect of Toledo Cathedral (a native of Burgos), went up to Salamanca with that most accomplished Greek scholar, his brother Antonio (†1602), studied under El Pinciano and Clenardus and Azpilcueta, and became Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1560, and of Segovia in 1565. In 1572 he succeeded Espinosa as President of the Council of Castille, and died Bishop elect of Cuenca.² Pedro Juan Núñez (c. 1525-1602), friend of

¹ Cardona, *De Regia S. Laurentii Bibliotheca*, &c. (Tarracone, 1587): ap. Gallardo, *Ensayo* ii. 220: 'Certe multa latere in angulis scimus, in quibus sunt Martini Ajalae . . . Johannis Baptistae Monlorii et aliorum quorum corpora non tam cibus quam studiis animi aluntur.'

² Cabrera speaks of 'su vida inculpable, sus estudios y letras las mayores de Europa' (*Historia de Felipe Segundo*, vol. ii, p. 127).

many of the greatest scholars of his day, has the honour to figure with Vives, Sepúlveda and Fox Morcillo, as the bibliographer Nicolás Antonio's 'totius eruditionis quatuorviri'.¹ He was one of the many eminent men produced at this time by Valencia.² His aim was to give a living philological interest to the teaching of Latin and Greek,³ but he did not find the atmosphere at Valencia entirely congenial,⁴ and later went to Barcelona, where he published his *Rhetoricae Institutiones* in 1578. Alvar Gomez de Castro,⁵ author of the *De rebus gestis Francisci Ximenii*, was born near Toledo, to which city belonged the antiquarian Pedro Chacon, who in 1569 sent to the Pope, through Fray Juan Gallo, a learned description of the University of Salamanca. It was at Toledo that Alexo Vanegas (or Venegas) de Busto, described as 'infinitely learned in the humanities', set up his academy. Segovia was another city remarkable for its great men.⁶ Chief among them was the Dominican Fray Domingo de Soto (1494-1560), of whom it was said at his death that there was no wiser or greater man in Christendom: ⁷ the saying went that in Soto's works all learning lurks, "qui scit Sotum scit totum". Prominent among his many books on law is his *De Justitia et Jure libri VII* (Salmanticae, 1556). He studied at Alcalá and Paris, and returned to Alcalá, but subsequently migrated to Salamanca and became one of the pillars of the

¹ Bib. Nova, vol. i, p. vi.

² To the same region belonged the scholars Pedro Juan Perpiñán or Perpiñá of Elche, author of *De Rhetorica discenda* (Romae, 1561) and *De divina et humana philosophia discenda* (Romae, 1566), who died at Rome in 1566 at the age of 36; Pedro Juan Oliver, a Greek scholar and fervent admirer of Erasmus (his edition of Pomponius Mela appeared in Paris in 1536); and Pedro Juan Monzon or Monzó († 1605), who was invited to Coimbra University by King João III (His *De locis apud Aristotelem mathematicis* was published at Valencia in 1566).

³ See the preface (addressed to D. Francisco de Navarra, Archbishop of Valencia) to his edition *Apposita M. T. Ciceronis* (Valentiae, 1556), ap. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica*, p. 748.

⁴ In a letter to Zurita on September 17, 1556, he speaks of those who feared that a humanist's emendation of a passage of Cicero might lead to emendation of the Scriptures. But suspicion of philology was not confined to Valencia.

⁵ An earlier scholar, Alvar Gomez de Ciudad Real, died in 1538, whereas Gomez de Castro lived to write an account of Philip II's marriage at Toledo in 1560.

⁶ Luis de Leon speaks of 'nobilissima et summorum ingeniorum feracissima urbe Segovia' (*Opera*, vii, 402). To this beautiful city also belonged Cardillo de Villalpando and the talented Coronel family.

⁷ Ibid.

splendid convent of St. Stephen, at the foot of one of the stair-cases of which he lies buried, under a nameless rough slab of granite. He was one of the men who filled the world with their fame despite themselves, having a Castilian horror of self-advertisement. It was of a Castilian colleague, Astudillo, at Salamanca that Vitoria said: 'He knows as much as I do, but he cannot sell his wares'. Another striking figure of the Spanish Renaissance was El Doctor Navarro, Martin de Azpilcueta (1492-1586), cousin of San Francisco Xavier, and of European fame as a specialist in canon law.¹ The precocious child was ordained (*ordenes menores*) before he was nine years old; he studied at Alcalá and Toulouse, lectured on law at Toulouse and Cahors, and spent many years (c. 1524-38) as Professor of Canon Law at Salamanca (where he won the Prima Chair by a majority of over 500 votes, 'gracias', he says, 'a Dios y a los señores estudiantes'), and at Coimbra (1538-55), where he accepted from King João III the generous salary of 1,000 ducats for life. In 1555 he returned to Spain. He combined a subtle intellect, a tenacious will, and the ingenuous heart of a child. He was tall and immoderately thin, with striking features and piercing eyes, so that Philip II, without having previously seen him, recognized him at once at Aranjuez in 1564. For his part the Navarrese Doctor was delighted with the King and found him 'very different from what he had been painted'.² Among many other notable scholars in Spain were Juan de Verzosa, of Zaragoza, who added a knowledge of English, French, and Italian to his Greek and Latin scholarship, and whose *Epistolarum libri IV* appeared in 1575; Juan Lorenzo Palmireno (c. 1514-84); Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander or Du Chesne), of Burgos, close friend of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, whose translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was published in 1551, a year before his death at Strassburg (December 1552), and whose Spanish translation of the New Testament (1543) led to his imprisonment at Brussels, at the request of the Emperor's Confessor, Pedro de Soto (†1553);

¹ Latin poems were addressed to him by the Portuguese Teive and Scottish Buchanan.

² 'Adeo illum alium ab eo quem mihi pinxerunt' (M. Arigita y Lasa, *El Doctor Navarro Don Martín de Azpilcueta*, Pamplona, 1895, p. 254). It has taken history three centuries to arrive at Azpilcueta's conclusion.

Juan Gelida (†1556), of Valencia, a Greek scholar who was professor at Paris and Bordeaux, and whom Vives called 'alter nostri temporis Aristoteles'; Hernan Perez de Oliva (†1531), who studied at Salamanca, Alcalá, Paris, and Rome,¹ and was equally devoted to Spanish and Greek, from which he translated the *Electra* (1528) of Sophocles, and the *Hecuba* of Euripides, but who died when he was under forty; Gonzalo Perez, translator of *La Odissea de Homero* (1553), to whom Roger Ascham refers as 'that excellent learned man and Secretarie to King Philip of Spaine'; Pedro Núñez Vela, of Avila, Professor of Greek at Lausanne, where in 1570 he made the acquaintance of Ramée; Diego Gracian de Alderete, known for his friendship with Santa Teresa, and his many excellent translations from the Greek;² Pedro Simon Abril, whose translations from the Greek were made with the express encouragement of Philip II.³ Simon Abril's suggestions on the reform of education, addressed to Philip II on the strength of 'forty years of good Greek and Latin studies', show very enlightened views. Medicine, he stated, which required less reform than any other science because it had always followed the teaching of Hippocrates and Galen,⁴ 'needs greater study of the anatomy of the human body', and the doctors should use 'clear Castilian instead of an obscure and barbarous Latin'; civil law should be expressed 'en lengua comun y popular', and the mass of 'commentaries' cleared

¹ 'Toda la vida,' 'he said, 'he pasado en los más nobles estudios [=universities] del mundo.'

² Son of the *Armero Mayor* of the Catholic Kings, his name García was changed at Louvain, where he studied, to Gracianus. He lived to the age of 90. His son Fray Jerónimo Gracian (†1614) was expelled from the Carmelite Order owing to his support of the Carmelite nuns and was subsequently captured by the Turks.

³ Other Greek scholars might be mentioned, but enough has perhaps been said to show that Greek learning did prosper in Spain. At King Philip's wedding at Toledo in 1560 the arch of the Swordsmiths bore inscriptions in Spanish, Latin, and Greek. In the middle of the sixteenth century Salamanca had three Chairs of Greek. In 1544 the question of founding a new Chair of Greek at Valladolid was raised, but the Chair was not inaugurated till 1564.

⁴ This did not satisfy Orta nor Huarte. Cf. the latter's remark: 'Tambien los médicos no tienen letras a que sujetarse, porque si Hipocrates y Galeno y los demás autores graves de esta facultad dicen y afirman una cosa y la experiencia y razon muestran lo contrario no tienen obligacion de seguirlos, y es que en la medicina tiene más fuerza la experiencia que la razon y la razon más que la autoridad' (*Examen de Ingenios, Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. lxx, p. 460).

away. He objects to the practice of making children learn by heart rules of grammar which they will immediately forget. Logic should not be regarded as an end in itself but as an instrument, like a carpenter's saw. Mathematics, he complained, were being neglected in a materialistic age, as being a means not of making money but of ennobling the mind. In natural philosophy he wished to get down to particular observation and do away with abstractions, laying stress especially on the importance of agriculture, architecture, and the art of war, while as to scholastic theology, without following the heretics in condemning it absolutely, he deplored the time wasted in dialectical discussions (*disputas*).¹

The three currents of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholarship converged in the later Renaissance in Spain and flowered afresh in such men as Arias Montano and Luis de Leon. Earlier, the Aristotelian humanists, anxious to get back to the true text, included many eminent Spaniards, notably Ginés de Sepúlveda, Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando (1527-81), Pedro Juan Núñez, Pedro Simon Abril, Pedro Martinez Brea of Toledo, and Miguel de Palacios,² while Fox Morcillo and others, following the lead given by Leon Hebreo, strove to bring the teaching of Aristotle and Plato into harmony. Destiny gave Sebastian Fox Morcillo (1528?-1560?) what Vives deliberately chose for himself: a brief life with philosophy rather than a long life with riches and power. Born at Seville, he studied for many years at Louvain, and his reputation was such that Philip II invited him to become tutor to Prince Carlos. But ancient Poseidon had been angered by insulting references to old age in Fox Morcillo's *De Juventute*, and he was shipwrecked and drowned on the voyage home. His published works had already given him a leading position among

¹ Pedro Simon Abril, *Apuntamientos de como se deuen reformar las doctrinas y la manera de enseñallas para reduzirlas a su antigua entereza y perficion*, &c. Madrid, 1589, reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. lxxv, pp. 293-300. Concerning Simon Abril (like Oliva Sabuco, a native of Alcaraz) as translator, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica*, pp. 604-34, and Mey, *El Helenismo en España*. The licencia of the 1589 edition of the *Apuntamientos* is dated June 10, 1589, and signed by Luis de Leon.

² The earliest opponent of Aristotle in Spain was Hernando Alonso de Herrera, author of *Breve disputa de ocho levadas contra Aristotel y sus secuaces* (Salamanca, 1517), and brother of the writer on agriculture.

the philosophers and scholars of the day. His *De Imitatione* appeared in 1554, and his great work, *De naturae philosophia seu de Platonis et Aristotelis consensione libri V*, at Louvain in the same year. The greatest Latinists as to style were considered to be Sepúlveda and Núñez (El Pinciano), both of whom were splendidly praised by Garcia Matamoros, himself an excellent Latinist, in his all too brief *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione* (1553),¹ which Menéndez y Pelayo described as the song of triumph of the Spanish Renaissance, but which came too early to include such names as Luis de Leon, El Brocense, and Arias Montano. Spanish Latinity in general was marked rather by force and character than by Ciceronian smoothness, and for this reason it may delight us more than it pleased contemporary Italians. Not that there were no nice scholars in Spain—did not El Brocense and Matamoros criticize Vives' Latin style?—but they always preferred the substance to the surface of style. Thus while the Italians were finding fault with Erasmus' Latin, the Spanish read his works with enthusiasm. The attacks upon him by Spaniards such as those of Diego Lopez de Zúñiga (or Stúñiga) were levelled against his doctrine or rather lack of doctrine. Sepúlveda was a friend, albeit a candid friend, and he had many other friends and correspondents in the Peninsula. Much of the best work of the most original thinkers of sixteenth-century Spain was written in Latin, but it was also the golden age of Spanish literature. History broadened out from jejune chronicles with such names as Paez de Castro, Florian de Ocampo, Morales, Zurita, Sepúlveda, Luis de Avila, Galindez de Carvajal, Mexia, Hurtado de Mendoza, Cabrera, Mariana. Political thought was expressed in scores of treatises of great value

¹ *Alfonsi Gar[siae] Matamori Hispa[]lensis, & primarij Rhetoris Complutensis | De asserēda Hispanorū eruditione, | siue De viris Hispaniae doctis nar[ratio] Apologetica, ad Illu-strissimum Vranie Co[m]item. Complvti, 1553.* The title of this book is one of those of the sixteenth century most variously and inaccurately quoted.

In view of the existence of these and other accomplished masters of Latin style, Huarte's remark may be regarded as far too absolute. See his *Examen de Ingenios* (1566), *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. lxx, p. 450: 'ser la lengua Latina tan repugnante al ingenio de los españoles, tan natural a los franceses, italianos, alemanes, ingleses y a los demás que habitan el septentrion; como parece por sus obras, que por el buen latin conocemos ya que es extranjero el autor y por lo bárbaro y mal rodado sacamos que es español.'

and interest. In poetry, after the introduction of the Italian metres by Boscan and Garci Lasso in the first half of the century, a few poets headed by Cristobal de Castillejo clung to the old octosyllabics; but both the school of Salamanca and that of Seville paid homage to the new style. In the Salamanca school Luis de Leon is accompanied by Francisco de la Torre (†1594) and Francisco de Figueroa (1536-1617?); at Seville, a group of poets, Baltasar de Alcazar (1530-1606), Rodrigo Caro (1573-1647), Gutierre de Cetina (c. 1520-c. 1555), Juan de Mal-Lara (†1571), gathered round Herrera el Divino (†1597). Apart, however, from the marvellous poetry of Luis de Leon, Herrera, and San Juan de la Cruz, it is in prose, in the treatises of the mystics and moralists, in the incomparable style of Santa Teresa, Luis de Granada, or Fray Juan de los Angeles, that the literary glory of the age consists. The romances of chivalry rendered Castilian an inestimable service by proving impervious to the attacks of Latin treatises and requiring a whole army of works written in Spanish to defeat them. It is significant that in 1601, when it was suggested that 'tantos libros devotos' constituted a serious danger, 'the mysteries of our faith and of the Gospel' in the vernacular being in the hands of all kinds of persons, the Professors of Theology were of opinion that such books should by no means be forbidden, as having taken the place of greater evils such as the romances of chivalry.¹ Only the merest outline can here be given of the progress of the Spanish language during the sixteenth century. It is clear that the struggle of Castilian for supremacy lasted throughout the sixteenth century as did that of French in France.² The Reformation proved a serious setback to the development of the vernacular. The unfortunate

¹ See Fray Guillermo Vázquez Núñez, *El Padre Francisco Zumel, &c.*, cap. xiv. in *Revista de Archivos*, Julio a Diciembre de 1918, p. 241: 'En ninguna manera conbenia ni conbiene que los dchos libros se quiten ni beden, antes conbiene y es muy necesario que se queden y impriman como hasta aqui se ha hecho, porque de andar y leherse se han quitado y estorbado otros muchos vicios de juegos y lecturas de libros de caballeria y de amores y otros imperinentes.'

² Cf. Pierre Villey, *Les Sources italiennes de la "Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoisse" de Joachim Du Bellay* (Paris, 1908), pp. x, xi: 'En France la lutte de la langue vulgaire contre les langues savantes a été longue et laborieuse. Elle emplit tout notre xvi^e siècle . . . C'est seulement entre 1570 et 1580 que . . . la partie est manifestement gagnée.'

Archbishop Carranza remarked that 'before the heresies of the accursed Luther came from Hell to the light of day, I do not know that the truth of the Holy Scriptures was forbidden anywhere to be printed in the vulgar tongue'.¹ When Luis de Leon died in 1591 he was regarded as the champion of the Spanish language.² How is this claim to be established? Imperishable works in Spanish prose had appeared before his. One of them, *La Celestina* (1499), was nearly a century old. Another, *Las Siete Partidas*, still a mine of excellent Castilian, dates from the thirteenth century. Others besides Luis de Leon had celebrated the beauty and riches of Castilian and emphasized the need of style and rhythm in prose as well as in verse. Thus Lebrija in his *Tratado de Gramática* (Salamanca, 1492) declared that 'la prosa tiene su medida' (cap. V.), and Ambrosio de Morales, almost in Luis de Leon's very words, declares that good prose consists in the sweetness and melody of the combination of words.³ It was the same writer who complained that Spanish had 'fallen into such contempt that it suffices for a book to be written in Castilian to be held of no account'.⁴ But Castilian had had other defenders, such as Juan de Valdés, Villalobos,⁵ Pedro

¹ Bartolomé Carranza, *Commentarios* (1558), Preface.

² See infra, p. 206. When in 1569 a question arose as to who should pronounce Dr. Sandoval's funeral oration, a layman in Latin or a priest in Spanish, Luis de Leon agreed with Juan de Guevara that it must be in Latin. One might have a regard for tradition as well as a love for one's native tongue.

³ *Discurso sobre la lengua castellana*, 1772 ed., p. 13: 'En saberlos [vocablos] escoger i juntarlos con mas gracia en el orden; en la composicion, en la variedad de las figuras, en el buen aire de las clausulas, en la conveniente juntura de sus partes, en la melodia i dulzura con que suenan las palabras mezcladas blandamente sin aspereza.' Cf. Luis de Leon, *De los Nombres de Cristo*, lib III. *dedic.* (vol. iii, pp. 10-11).

⁴ ib. p. 8: 'Venido en tanto menoscupio que basta ser un libro escrito en castellano para no ser tenido en nada.' In reprinting the *Discurso* with his uncle Perez de Oliva's works in 1585 he added *ya quasi* before *basta*, no doubt as a kind of salute to Luis de Leon's first Spanish works. For an echo of Morales' complaint by Dr. Viana see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iv. 1032. He speaks of the 'abundancia, propiedad, gala, lindeza y elegancia' of Castilian.

⁵ He wrote in Spanish not without qualms ('perderá mucho de su dignidad en ser en lengua vulgar'), but his reason for doing so is interesting: 'mas los impresores de España no quieren imprimir libros en latin si el mismo autor no pone la costa de su casa' (*Libro de los Problemas* (Zaragoza, 1543) in *Bib. Aut. Esp.* t. xxxvi. p. 439). The Archbishop of Toledo, Alonso de Fonseca, wrote to Villalobos from Salamanca of 'un dialogo vuestro en que vi claramente que nuestra lengua castellana excede a todas las ótras en la gracia y dulzura de la buena conversacion de los hombres' (ib. p. 443).

Mexia, Cervantes Salazar, and Hernan Perez de Oliva, who used it constantly 'con deseo de ennoblecerla'; earlier still Alonso de Palencia (1423-92); while Morales could himself admire the prose of Hernan del Pulgar, and other learned men were sensible enough to see the merits of so popular a Spanish book as *Lazarillo de Tormes*.¹ Alexo de Vanegas could declare in 1546 that Castilian is a 'lengua muy celebrada y estimada aun fuera de España', and that squadrons of books were published daily as an antidote to the plague of romances of chivalry.² Antonio de Torquemada about the year 1570 remarks on the change and improvement in Spanish, the great 'mudanzas de la lengua castellana'. Yet to a modern reader the thirteenth-century Spanish of Alfonso X seems to differ wonderfully little from that of to-day, far less than present-day English differs from Chaucer.³ Mena could indeed speak of Spanish as 'rudo y desierto romance', and in 1477 Fray Juan Lopez says that to write in Latin pleases better than to write in Spanish 'por ser mas dulce y comprehensiva lengua'. In the sixteenth century Spanish works were published at many presses throughout Europe. The Spanish language was spread through Europe partly by fugitive Spanish Jews who tenaciously retained their Castilian for generations and centuries. In 1555 a Spanish grammar appeared at Louvain, with the authority of Villavicencio, in which the *bening lecteur* is assured that he has 'ung beau et brief sentier verdoyant' to the knowledge of Castilian.⁴ Queen Elizabeth, as Ascham informs

¹ Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jeronimo*, ii. 145: 'mostrando en un sujeto tan humilde la propiedad de la lengua castellana y el decoro de las personas que introduze con tan singular artificio y donayre que merece ser leydo de los que tienen buen gusto.'

² So Juan de Avila in 1574 can say: 'para quien se quiere aprovechar de leer en romance hay tantos libros buenos que este no les era necesario.' In 1550 Licenciado Lasso writes: 'no es tan coja ni manca nuestra presente platica y Española lengua' (Gallardo, iii. 303). On the other hand, in 1539 Diego Ortega de Burgos, in a translation of Vives, says that 'la nuestra queda muy atras de la latina'.

³ Unless, of course, one makes the mistake of M'Crie, who copies a passage of Lemosin as 'extremely curious early Castilian' (*History of the . . . Reformation in Spain* (1829), pp. 414-16).

⁴ The remark of Juan de Valdés (still the author of the *Diálogo de la Lengua*) that the gallants and ladies of Italy all learnt Castilian is well known. Yet Valdés preferred to read Latin and Italian (see *Diálogo de la Lengua*, 1919 ed., pp. 33, 235). Luis de Leon's pride in Castilian contrasts with this disdain as it does with Bacon's half-contempt for his own inimitable English.

us, had a 'perfit readines' in Spanish. Shakespeare probably knew it quite as well as any other foreign language. In 1492 Lebrija, with something of a prophetic spirit so far as Castilian was concerned, declared that 'language always follows empire';¹ and a century later, in dedicating the second part of his *Historia de la Orden de San Jeronimo* to Philip III in 1599, Sigüenza proudly says that although written in Spanish it may be read wherever the sun shines.² The divine Herrera, in his 1580 edition of Garci Lasso, remarks that Castilian is 'estendida y capaz de todo argumento'; but Francisco de Medina, in his preface to the same work, says that, despite the great writers produced in Spain, they are inclined to neglect, if not the use, the excellence of Castilian, while Fray Luis de Granada's prose disdains the things of earth.³ The importance of Luis de Leon's first Spanish works thus becomes clear. Castilian already possessed masterpieces of prose and verse, but the best writers failed to appreciate it truly and felt it incumbent on them to raise it from an everyday level to heights of artificiality or obscurity, with plentiful use of erudition.⁴ Guevara, a real master of Spanish prose, packed his

¹ *Tratado de Gramática*, ad init.: 'A la muy alta & assi esclarecida princesa doña Isabel: siempre la lengua fué compañera del imperio.'

² 'Ni será estoruo para tan larga carrera estar escrita en la lengua castellana, pues por la misma razon la reconocerán en la redondez del suelo' (*op. cit.*, I. lix.: *Ad Regem*).

³ 'No negaré que produce España ingenios maravillosos . . . mas osaré afirmar que en tan grande muchedumbre de los que hablan y escriben romance se hallarán muy pocos a quien se deba con razon la honra de la perfecta elocuencia.' Luis de Granada 'desprecia las [cosas] del suelo'. Cf. Pedro de Escobar Cabeza de Vaca, *Viaje a Egipto y al Monte Sinai* (1587), ap. F. Picatoste, *Estudios de la grandeza y decadencia de España*, vol. i. (1887), p. 76: 'En saliendo algun libro en prosa castellana, si es de guerra le llaman libro de caballería, si de amores es de desabrido lenguaje, si de devocion publican que es sermonario.' In 1580 Juan Gonzalez de la Torre says: 'ya no curan [los que son vulgares] de leer cosa buena en prosa sino que andan buscando coplillas, romances etc.' (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, i. 75). This partly accounts for the disdain of poetry among the educated.

⁴ Small children were expected to learn Latin in Latin, a practice against which El Brocense, like Pierre de la Ramée, constantly inveighed. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, in a work by Lopez de Montoya, of which the *censura* was signed by Luis de Leon on December 18, 1587, the protest recurs, and we find Mayans y Siscar dealing with the same subject in the eighteenth century. Doctors of course wrote their prescriptions in Latin, but not without constant protests. As late as 1694 a doctor apologizes for writing a book in Spanish. Cabrera (i. 50) says that at the beginning of Philip II's reign 'tardaban ocho años en aprender latin, suficientes para saber

'familiar letters' with classical allusions. Luis de Granada soared away from earth. Thus either the matter must be low or the manner pedantic. It remained for Luis de Leon to show that in Spanish one could be at once natural and sublime. As his English contemporary, Roger Ascham, said, 'He that will wryte in any tongue must followe this council of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do'. Luis de Leon claims that he is doing a new thing in raising the Spanish language from its wonted neglect, and deplors that it had hitherto been employed on trifling subjects, 'en cosas sin ser'.¹ It is clear that his deliberate purpose from the first was to widen the appeal of the Scriptures by declaring their interest and beauty.² The people, debarred from reading the Bible, fell back on the romances of chivalry; he was resolved to give them something better in their own language, being persuaded that it was well able to receive the new wine.³ He was but writing in his language as the Greeks or Romans had written in theirs, 'con palabras llanísimas'.⁴ 'The only Castilian known to me, says Fray Luis, 'is that I learnt from my nurses.'⁵ Thus it fell to a great Spanish humanist, as to Bembo in Italy, Du Bellay in

las cosas y aprender las ciencias si se las enseñaran en lengua castellana.' As to Church services Valles sagely remarks that 'facit id Ecclesia ut peregrinarum vocum recitatione animus inflammetur, quia vulgares facile contemnuntur' (*De Sacra Philosophia*, 1652 ed., p. 54).

¹ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii, pp. 7, 11.

² Fray Francisco Sancho, writing to Luis de Leon on July 16, 1571, says that 'agora se ha de estrechar más la licencia para imprimir libros en romance de cosas de la religion cristiana' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 469). Cano in 1559 thought that 'los escriptores nuevos de este tiempo en demasía escriuen en lengua bulgar'. It was one of the questions on which Augustinians and Dominicans were in different camps. In the dedication to Juan Lopez de Velasco's *Ortografia y pronunciacion castellana* (Burgos, 1582) there is an indication of Cardinal Quiroga's zeal for the Spanish language.

³ 'recibe bien todo lo que se le encomienda,' 'no es dura ni pobre' (Introduction to the collection of his poems).

⁴ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 4. Huarte in the same way (*Examen de Ingenios*, Bib. Aut. Esp., t. lxxv, p. 447) had said that the Greeks wrote in Greek 'y así hago yo en mi español'. Orozco even earlier, in 1556, declared that he was proud to write in his native language, as the Greeks and Italians did in theirs (Cámara, *Vida* (1882), p. 445; Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo*, t. vi. (1922), p. 118). El Brocense makes a similar statement. Cf. Villalon, *El Scholasticon*, t. i, p. 16 (*Biblióf. Madrileños*, v.): 'harto es enemigo de sí quien estima más la lengua del otro que el suyo.'

⁵ 'no sé otro romance del que me enseñaron mis amas' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 365).

France, Barros in Portugal, More and Ascham in England, to be the champion of his native tongue.¹ The preface to the first part of his *De los Nombres de Cristo* is a trumpet call to all *buenos ingenios* to write 'én nuestra lengua, para el uso comun de todos', attacking, as in a siege, the fortified castle of the 'mal uso' of books read by the people.² The novelty consisted in the fact that it was a learned theologian who not only himself wrote but insistently invited others to write in Spanish. Clearly there were critics. It is curious to compare the criticism, as described by Luis de Leon in the third part of his work published in 1585, with a passage written by Leon de Castro thirty years earlier.³ On the other hand the romances of chivalry stood their ground. At the very end of the sixteenth century we find Sigüenza and Malon de Chaide denouncing them.⁴ But Luis de Leon's call did not fall on unheeding ears. With what a glow Cervantes, then returned from captivity and struggling as a writer at Madrid, must have read the words calling the *buenos ingenios* to battle! Two years later appeared his *Galatea* (1585), but the work which was to deal the final blow to the contumacious romances of chivalry must have been already in his mind. If literature, Castilian and Latin, flourished exceedingly in Spain in the sixteenth century, the same was also true of art. Painting and the drama, in both of which Spain was to attain

¹ Cardinal Bembo in his *Prose*, which Luis de Leon read, declares that 'la nostra Vulgar lingua' is richer than Latin (1540 ed., f. 85 v.).

² *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i, pp. 12, 13-14.

³ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. iii, p. 6: 'unos se maravillan que un teólogo de quien, como ellos dicen, esperaban algunos grandes tratados llenos de profundas cuestiones haya salido a la fin con un libro en romance'; Leon de Castro, preface to Hernan Núñez' *Refranes* (1555), vol. i (1804), pp. xxx-xxxi: 'bien veo lo que a muchos parecerá al cabo de tantos años de estudio salir con un prólogo y en romance, pues escribirlo en latin en obra de romance no quadraba; pero es tanta la deuda que yo debo al Comendador Hernan Núñez mi maestro que todolo que a mi honor tocaba puse. Lo qual todo visto por el lector cuerdo espero que a mi no me ponga culpa de escribir en lengua vulgar.'

⁴ Malon de Chaide, *Libro de la Conversion de la Magdalena* (Barcelona, 1588), ad init. He praises the Spanish language and Luis de Leon's *De los Nombres de Cristo* (as half a century later, in the preface to his *Homiliae* (Granatae, 1617), does another Augustinian, Fray Juan de Galvarro, who adds: 'doleo ergo hispano sermone non scribere'); Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ii, 393: 'libros de cauallerias . . . todo lleno de disparates, mentiras mal hiluanadas y mal dichas.' Cf. i. 332 and 547. Cf. Luis de Leon, *La Perfecta Casada*, § iii: 'que las excusen y libren del leer en los romances de caballerías y del traer el soneto y la cancion en el seno.'

world-wide fame in the seventeenth century, were still almost in their infancy. But in architecture, following the reappearance of Vitruvius' *De Architectura* in Leo Battista Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria* (1485), Spain made such progress in the sixteenth century that Sigüenza could say that a new majesty had begun to appear in her buildings, unknown to the vulgar barbarity of Goths and Arabs.¹ That is a matter of opinion. Many may not be prepared to dismiss the Alhambra, the Mosque of Córdoba, the cathedrals of Seville, Burgos, and Toledo as entirely worthless; nevertheless if one looks for peculiarly Castilian art one must turn to the rhythmic proportions of the Escorial and to the romanesque churches of Soria, Sigüenza, and Avila. During the first third of the sixteenth century plateresque art was busy overlaying plain surfaces of massive stone with sculptured patterns so delicate as to be akin to the art of the silversmith. This work, from the hands of Diego de Siloe, Diego de Riaño, Enrique de Egas, Felipe de Borgoña, Berruguete, is especially frequent and delightful in the two University towns of Salamanca and Alcalá. (At Alcalá, too, is the statue begun by Domenico Fancelli and finished by the Spanish sculptor, Bartolomé Ordoñez († 1520), who survived his Florentine master for only two years.) A return to classical solidity came with Juan Bautista de Toledo († 1567) and Juan de Herrera (1530-97), architect and mathematician, whose severe and massive buildings always retained a harmony of proportions, however crushing, annihilating they might be for the work of the sculptor. Two belated Gothic cathedrals, those of Segovia and Salamanca, built by Juan Gil de Ontañon and his son Rodrigo, were not finished till well on in the second half of the century. In wood, earthenware, iron, and steel, work delightfully individual was carried on with much zest, true to the Castilian principle to give excellence to ordinary things. The furniture, 'fine Spanish tables'² made in Spain, had an European reputation, as had the swords of Alonso de Sahagun and other Toledo smiths, the iron screens of Cristobal de Andino, Fray Francisco de Salamanca, Sancho Muñoz of

¹ *Op. cit.* ii. 528: 'se comienza a descubrir una magestad grande y desusada en los edificios de España que auia tantos siglos que estaua sepultada en la barbarie o groseria de los Godos y Arabes.'

² 'Yet if His Majesty, our sovereign lord.' (*The Oxford Book of English Verse*, no. 60).

Cuenca, and many others: all the work in iron and wood and silver in the cathedrals which still excites the envy and admiration of other countries, while the embroidered silks, glazed tiles (*azulejos*), carved chests, and earthenware plates are the delight and despair of collectors. Gaspar Becerra of Baeza, Juan de Juni, and the Galician Gregorio Hernandez, gave the most lifelike expression to their wooden statues. Three generations of Arphes, Enrique, Antonio, and Juan, wrought those silver monstrances which are the pride of the great Spanish cathedrals. Of Spanish goldsmiths and silversmiths upwards of two hundred names figure in the sixteenth century alone. The building of the Escorial gave Philip II the opportunity to become one of the best known art patrons in Europe, and painter after painter came over from Italy, while El Greco, the Cretan, scattered his immortal masterpieces over Toledo. Philip II was also a lover of music, which flourished both in theoretical treatises and in practice. Francisco Guerrero (1527-99), Tomas Luis de Victoria, worthy to be compared with Palestrina, Cristobal Morales; the organist of Valladolid, Francisco de Montanos, blind Antonio Cabezon (1510-66), organist to the King, and Francisco de Salinas, whose reputation spread far beyond the frontiers of Spain, are some of the most prominent names of Spanish musicians in Philip's reign. Their instruments were the organ and the *vihuela*, on which so many treatises were written in the sixteenth century; later its place was taken by the more popular four-stringed *guitarra*, to which Vicente Espinel added a fifth string in 1570—it was not till over two centuries later that it received a sixth. Spanish organists in the sixteenth century, with all their limitations, were in advance of those in other countries. In many departments of science also Spain led the way. The heroic discoverers did not set out on their voyages without previous careful study of nautical science, astronomy, and the art of map-making, and many an *Arte de Navegar*, such as those of Francisco Falero and Pedro de Medina, which seem negligible to us to-day, was at one time the most progressive treatise of its day. Pedro Ciruelo was a professor of theology who was also a mathematician; he returned from Paris when Alcalá University was inaugurated and subsequently held a

Chair at Salamanca; ¹ Pedro de Esquivel, Professor of Mathematics at Alcalá, was in advance of his time in the art of surveying, encouraged by Philip II; Gabriel Alonso de Herrera's *Obra de Agricultura* (1513) is a most enlightened treatise; ² Alonso de Santa Cruz invented spherical maps; Felipe Guillén, a Seville chemist, perfected the compass in 1525. In the abstract and applied sciences alike Spanish names abound. The scientific spirit of the age is evident in writers so literary as Luis de Leon or Arias Montano, who would eagerly examine plants and shells, corresponded with Clusius, and was keenly interested in atmospheric pressure, or Fox Morcillo, who studied fossils. Blasco de Garay's invention for propelling ships might be primitive (apparently it consisted in a wooden wheel), but he was nevertheless in advance of his time. The botany of the New World was studied by Diego Alvarez Chanca as early as 1494, and subsequently by Nicolas Monardes (1512?-88) and many others, and botanical gardens were established at Aranjuez. The worth of many of these ancient treatises was not recognized abroad for centuries: Bernardino de Sahagun wrote on natural history in 1575, but was not translated into English till 1831. Others exercised immediately considerable influence on European thought. Andrés de Laguna, an eminent Segovian born at the end of the fifteenth century, studied at Salamanca and Paris, and after travelling in Italy, Germany, and France, returned to Spain about 1557. Physician and scholar, he made numerous translations from Aristotle, Lucian, and other classics, and was thus one of the many men of his day who combined the humanities with science. Another interesting figure is Francisco Valles de Covarrubias (1524-92), King Philip's physician, with his property of Serafin at Alcalá on the banks of the Henares, and his house in the Calle de Atocha at Madrid. Like the painter Morales and the poet Herrera he was called 'the divine', but not, it is said, by popular acclaim, but by the King, when he had

¹ His best known work is the *Reprouaciō de las Su|persticiōes y hechizerias. Libro muy ũtil y necessario a todos los buenos christia|nos*, &c. (Salamanca, 1538).

² See A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Un Aristotélico del Renacimiento, Hernando Alonso de Herrera*, &c. (*Extrait de la Revue Hispanique*, tome 1.), 1920, pp. 13, 14.

cured him of the gout. Although as a philosopher he may lack 'the boldness of Gomez Pereira or Cardoso, the learning of Vives, the depth of Suarez or Fox Morcillo, the critical sense of Pedro de Valencia and Francisco Sanchez (the sceptic philosopher)',¹ he was the author of some important medical works as well as of the celebrated *De Sacra Philosophia* (1587).

The sixteenth century in Spain, when Spain stood at the head of the nations of Europe, is all the more interesting to study because it bears a strong resemblance to our own age.² If we substitute heresy for Bolshevism, and Luther for Lenin, and the discovery of America for the development of flying, we shall obtain a good insight into the various influences at work in men's minds. No doubt, in the general upheaval, in the new love of nature and art, and overwhelming interest in the body and mind of men, and in the 'marvelous and gorgeous frame of the worlde',³ much that might have been retained with profit was neglected and forgotten, and scientific curiosity was not always accompanied by perfection of taste. There may be something a little blatant and disquieting in the exhibition of an elephant (*por los claustros muy domestico*) and rhinoceros (*animal feo, melancólico y triste*) at the Escorial in 1583,⁴ nor must the *sofistas* and *sopistas* be omitted from the picture. But the gloom and fanaticism in sixteenth-century Spain have been greatly exaggerated.⁵ Those who doubt this should study Spain's internal history, read Cabrera's account of the popular celebrations, all colour and rejoicing, of Philip II's wedding at Toledo in 1560, and examine the quiet lives of many scholars, happy among their books and flowers. If we inquire into the special character-

¹ A. Bonilla y San Martín, *El Divino Valles* (1524-92), Madrid, 1914, p. 18.

² Cf. the very title of one of Andrés de Laguna's works: *Ευρώπη εντρον-ρμπορμένη sive seipsam torquens* (Coloniae, 1543).

³ Cf. Sigüenza, *op. cit.* i. 94: 'es de mucha importancia el conocimiento desta tan hermosa fabrica del cuerpo humano, milagro de la naturaleza'; Valles, *De Sacra Philosophia*, ed. 1652, p. 257: 'mundum opificium est pulcherrimum'; Luis de León, *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 125: 'este templo del universo . . . rico y hermoso, lleno de variedad admirable.'

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, vol. vii, p. 369.

⁵ Such expressions as 'estos tiempos tan enconados y peligrosos' (1569), 'tiempos tan peligrosos y vidriados' (*Doc. inéd.*, v. 516), often refer to the prevalence of heresy outside Spain. Cf. similar expressions in Luis de León, Cervantes, Santa Teresa, &c., &c.

istics of the Spanish Renaissance we find foremost a sanity, moderation, and balance scarcely to be found elsewhere in the sixteenth century, certainly not in Italy or France. It was a better service to Plato to attempt, as did Fox Morcillo, to reconcile him with Aristotle or with Christianity, as did Sepúlveda, than to keep a lamp burning before his bust like Marsilio Ficino. One cannot fail to notice the temperance and good sense of the doctrine of Vives and Sepúlveda and Fox Morcillo, and these qualities were not confined to them. It could not be said of Spanish scholars, as Ascham said of those of Italy, that 'they have in more reverence the Triumphes of Petrarche than the Genesis of Moses, they make more account of Tullie's Offices than St. Paule's Epistles, of a tale in Bocace than a storie in the Bible'. Many of the Spanish humanists were profoundly eclectic, took truth and beauty wherever they found them, and recognized, for all its quiddities and oddities, the merits of scholasticism, which had, indeed, provided the training for the greatest figures of the Renaissance. This comprehensiveness and the possibility of universal knowledge appealed to the absorbing Castilian genius and to the individualist character of all Spaniards. Three or four centuries later, when the work of the specialist had in its turn assumed gigantic proportions, Spanish scholarship again came to the fore. The first characteristic of the writers of the Spanish Renaissance is thus the same sense of proportion which is seen equally clearly in the romanesque churches, in the Escorial, or in Spanish church music.¹ The second is independence and reliance on reason, observation, and individual judgement. It would be possible to quote a score of remarkable passages in which Spanish thinkers, after expressing their acceptance of the doctrines of the Church, profess complete independence in all other respects.² The profound and original

¹ Cf. Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades*, ii. 489: 'canturía grave, sencilla y expresiva sin molestos chillidos, fugas ni fastidiosas y artificiosas repeticiones.' In the same way the romanesque style of architecture does not soar but gives a most satisfying impression of proportion and simple beauty.

² e. g. 'Eam enim semper rationem inire in studiis meis vel scriptis decrevi ut nullius in verba auctoris, jurare velim sed quae mihi probabilia videantur ea maxime complectar, sive a Platone sive a quovis alio dicantur' (Fox Morcillo); 'Ego multum Platoni tribuo, plus Aristoteli, sed rationi plurimum'

Vives, Sepúlveda, Fox Morcillo, Gomez Pereira, Benito Pereira (1535-1610), Huarte, all maintain the utmost freedom of thought and rigorous examination of authority, thus laying the foundations of the inductive method. Hernando Alonso de Herrera was attacking the authority of Aristotle as early as 1517; and a generation later Gomez Pereira championed freedom of judgement against authority in his strange *Antoniana Margarita* (1554), with a boldness which shocked Nicolas Antonio out of his usual equanimity.¹ A third characteristic of the Spanish humanists is their practical sense, very marked in Vives. The Renaissance in Spain always retained a certain ethical purpose, characterized by clearness, energy, and sincerity of thought, without necessarily excluding a passionate love of beauty, evident in Luis de Leon and other writers. Indeed, by the middle of the sixteenth century, to cling to scholasticism without the humanities was inevitably to invite criticism.² It is precisely when a horror of great darkness is supposed to have fallen upon Spain that we find there ecclesiastics such as Arias Montano, Luis de Leon, Luis de Granada and José de Sigüenza, to whom poetry and beauty were the very breath of life. Brilliant and original were the works of many writers in Spain during this century, and the man was usually greater than his works. There are no more attractive figures of the Renaissance than those of Lebrija, who dying when nearly eighty gave his last thoughts to the works that were still unfinished; of Vitoria, who when crippled with gout would be carried in a litter to his lecture-room;³ of (Benito Pereira); 'Alios (i. e. not canonicos) autem ita lego ut quantalibet sanctitate quantave doctrina polleant non ideo verum putem quia ipsi ita senserunt' (Hernando Alonso de Herrera); 'en las otras [cosas] que no son de fee no quiere capturar su entendimiento' (El Brocense). So Huarte criticizes Plato and Aristotle impartially ('Espántome de Platon, siendo tan gran filósofo'; 'Aristoteles no anduvo bien en esta doctrina'); and Simon Abril shows the necessity of appealing to reason and experience.

¹ 'Paradoxa opera adversus medicinae principes in medium producere non erubuit' (*Bibliotheca Nova*, i. 541).

² Cf. Garcia Matamoros, *De tribus dicendi generibus sive de recta informandi styli ratione* (Complviti, 1570), *Ad lectorem*: 'Noui ego quamplurimos nostrae nationis homines, acutos dialecticos, praestantes philosophos, divinos theologos, non vitra tamen scholasticos authores progressos, qui si humaniores literas linguarumque peritiam essent edocti in alios quidem Augustinos & Hieronymos fortassis easissent.'

³ Gout rather than the Inquisition seems to have been the enemy of those learned men. Garcia Matamoros speaks of himself as having been tortured

Sepúlveda, among the birds and trees and streams in Andalucía; of Arias Montano at La Peña, ringing his bells to communicate with the villagers below; of El Brocense, shouting out his paradoxical opinions to the first person he met in the streets of Salamanca; of Azpilcueta who, when over ninety, would ride through Rome on his mule (which, more humane than the fabled dog of Torquemada, would stop of its own accord whenever they came upon a poorly dressed man for its master to give him an alms); of Vives, Fox Morcillo, Luis de Leon, and the genial Pinciano, the Greek Comendador.

by gout for ten years: 'Cum superiore anno quatuor mensium, inducias mecum podagra fecisset, quæ me iam annos continuos decem miserrime excrucieverat' (*De tribus dicendi generibus* (1570), *Ad lectorem*); and Soto was bedridden with the same complaint: 'qui cum, exacta ætate, pedum doloribus confectus, in lecto iacens, vivebat eam vitam quam domi inclusus agebat' (*Mag. Luysii Legionensis . . . Opera*, vii. 402).

II

Spain and the Reformation

¹ How much the devotional spirit of the Church has suffered by that necessary evil, the Reformation!—SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

‘The Reformation in the sixteenth century narrowed Reform.’ (ID.)

STUDY of the Renaissance in Spain necessarily implies study of the Reformation as it affected the development of Spanish thought. For some time after the fatal year 1517 Spanish language and literature were checked, and it was not until the last quarter of the century that, with Luis de Leon and others, they emerged finally triumphant. Even earlier, however, when Philip II returned in 1559 he found learning and literature flourishing as never before in Spain. A score of universities had sprung up, to which boys of promise, or ambition, made their way from every corner of the Peninsula, impelled by the knowledge that it was no longer birth and privilege but brains and application that were the way to high place and authority. At the head of all these universities Salamanca had a reputation second to none in Europe, and while it preserved carefully its ancient traditions it was keenly alive to the new learning, as in an equal or even greater degree was the University of Alcalá, then only fifty years old. A spirit of humanity and toleration, such as was then very rare in Europe, marked Spanish thought. Since the war of the Comunidades and Germanías a generation earlier, peace had reigned in the land, and foreigners contrasted the tranquillity and quiet gaiety of its life with the perturbed state of other countries, while Spaniards travelling abroad had to choose between the peril of the deep sea and the risk of being robbed and murdered in France. To none was the contrast more evident than to Philip II himself. He had seen religion divide sister from sister in England, and had intervened in favour of Princess Elizabeth¹ and other Protestants, and he had seen

¹ It was suggested, indeed, that it might have been a celestial act to have

France and Germany rent asunder by wars of religion. He could not help being profoundly impressed by the ochlocracy which in Germany and Flanders had followed in the wake of the Reformation, and by the dreadful outrages committed by the Anabaptists. He came back fully determined to save Spain from a similar fate and to maintain its religious and political unity. The Spanish people had always been, and still was, essentially Catholic. The Roman Catholic faith, as Prescott well says, 'was not merely cherished as a form of religion but as a principle of honour'. A few Protestants had sprung up, chiefly in the frequented port of Seville and the cosmopolitan capital, Valladolid, corresponding to Barcelona and Madrid to-day; but if they made converts among the people it was usually of unsuspecting persons who had no thought of going against established dogmas, but were fascinated by the thought of a return to the Primitive Church. The Seville group (Rodrigo de Valera, the Aragonese Dr. Juan Gil (Aegidius), and Canon Constantino Ponce de la Fuente) appears really to have harboured Protestant doctrines, and the same may have been true of Francisco de San Roman, burnt at Valladolid in 1544, who had lived at Antwerp, while Don Carlos de Seso, Corregidor of Toro, was a Genoese Protestant. But the Valladolid group which gathered round Seso and Cazalla and Fray Domingo de Rojas, including many members of the noble families of Poza and Alcañices, seems rather to have been misled by certain indiscretions of Archbishop Carranza, whose fondness for the Primitive Church is very evident in his *Commentarios*, published at Antwerp in 1558.¹ A couple of *autos de fé* (May 21 and Oct. 8,

permitted her to be murdered (Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, modern ed. i. 51).

¹ Fray Domingo de Rojas (son of the Marqués de Poza and brother of the Marquesa de Alcañices), however, administered the Communion in both kinds; Pedro de Cazalla (chaplain of the Marqués de Alcañices and brother of Dr. Cazalla, court preacher) doubted the value of oral confession, and his views on justification, transubstantiation, purgatory, and indulgences were not considered sound. The *Procesos de Protestantes Españoles en el siglo xvi* (Madrid, 1910) is of very great interest; it shows the importance attached to the Primitive Church (cf. pp. 34, 38, 42, 56, 125, 128) and the connexion of Carranza with the Valladolid group. Carranza was arrested in August, 1559, between the two *autos de fé* at Valladolid, in which the Cazallas, Rojas, and others suffered.

1559)¹ at Valladolid, at the principal of which two persons only were burnt alive, and another two at Seville, sufficed to crush the movement. Nevertheless the danger was rightly felt to be great. In a kingdom only recently unified,² and with a people so individualistic as the Spanish, there was possibility of endless sects and nonconformities if it were once permitted to question the principle of religious unity. Already the sect of *Alumbrados*, who held that perfection might be attained by prayer without good works, had raised its head in various parts of the country, especially in the province of Toledo: sixty-six of their tenets had been condemned by the Inquisition in 1523. There had been mumblings behind closed doors.³ If the first glimmerings of Protestantism were stamped out without difficulty between 1540 and 1560, there remained the tremendous problem of the Jews. 'Spain is full of Jews as Germany is full of robbers' wrote Erasmus in 1531, and so it was in 1546 when began the famous *estatutos de limpieza*, excluding from civil or ecclesiastical employment all who had any trace of Jewish descent, however remote. Siliceo in 1547 introduced this in the diocese of Toledo; a more independent prelate, Cardinal D. Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, showed that scarcely any great house in Spain was free from such descent.⁴ But popular feeling ran high against the Jews. Public opinion might forgive a man who was of Moorish origin, but not one who was in the slightest suspicion of having Jewish blood in his veins, as Archbishop Agustín, perhaps a trifle ironically, observed.⁵ They thus constituted

¹ To the first of these the Regent Doña Juana ordered Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, wife of Don Luis Quixada, who had brought up Don Juan de Austria, to bring Don Juan. Prescott says that she obeyed the command reluctantly. The reluctance was scarcely surprising since her brother, the Marqués de la Mota, and other members of the family were among the penitents.

² In Mexia's *Dialogos Eruditos* (1547) a man from Barcelona described himself as a 'foreigner' (*extranjero*) at Seville.

³ Cano, *Parecer* (1559): 'nunca cierran la boca enseñando de palabra y discurriendo de casa en casa.'

⁴ *El Tizon de la Nobleza Española* was reprinted in a cheap edition at Barcelona in 1880.

⁵ Antonio Agustín, *Dialogos de las armas i linages de la nobleza de España*, ed. G. Mayans y Siscar (Madrid, 1734), p. 92: 'Assi vemos que hai algunos linages de Cavalleros que tienen alguna decendencia de Moros que no se echa de ver; i los que tienen de Judios alguna gota de sangre son señalados con el dedo i con no darles habitos ni entrada en colegios ni tener obispados.' Agustín died in 1586.

a source of danger and disturbance, so that the Holy Office of the Inquisition, established to deal with the Jews, was as much a political as a religious institution. It was accepted by all right-thinking Spaniards and by the mass of the people as a necessary defence. Spain had always maintained a very moderate attitude, choosing a middle way equally opposed to the Reformation of the North and the frivolity and paganism of Italy. For that very reason she was accused of fanaticism by the extremists on either side, just as Erasmus was attacked simultancously by Lutherans and reactionaries. The reasonable temper of Erasmus was certainly congenial to the Spanish mind, although he might sometimes appear to them to trifle, and in the first half of the sixteenth century he was very popular in Spain, where, moreover, his latinity was less severely criticized than in Italy. Sancho Carranza and Diego Lopez de Stúñiga attacked him bitterly enough, and Sepúlveda did not stint his criticism; but he had fervent admirers in Alonso de Valdés, whom Sepúlveda considered more Erasmist than Erasmus, in Francisco and Juan de Vergara, and in Luis de la Cadena and many other scholars at Alcalá and elsewhere. On September 1, 1527, Juan Maldonado wrote to Erasmus that every man and woman had a Spanish translation of his Colloquies in their hands;¹ in 1545 Azpilcueta gives him noble praise,² and as late as 1553 García Matamoros calls him divine.³ In 1527 a committee of Spanish prelates and professors met (June 27) at Valladolid in the house of D. Alonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville, to examine the works of Erasmus, but friends of Erasmus and a menace of plague in the town intervened, and the *Congregacion* rose *re infecta* on August 13 after sitting since June 27.⁴ In the middle of the sixteenth century a change is discernible. With the Council of Trent (1545-63), at which Spanish theologians won so

To the same year belongs Fray Alonso de Virués' letter in defence of Erasmus.

¹ 'Varon en varia erudition y en polideza de letras griegas y latinas muy illustre' ap. Mariano Arigita y Lasa, *El Doctor Navarro Don Martin de Azpilcueta y sus obras* (Pamplona, 1895), p. 26.

² 'Erasmus Rotherodamus, quem ego diuinum hominē merito ac libenter appellauerim.' (*De asserēda Hispanorū eruditione* (Complviti, 1553), p. 6 of the introductory *Epistola*.)

⁴ A Papal Bull favourable to his works is dated August 1, 1527.

brilliant a reputation, with the establishment of the Inquisition at Rome (1542) inaugurating the Counter-Reformation, a larger measure of intolerance prevailed for some years in Spain. In his will Charles V, who had so often been fain to trim and pause, charged his son Philip II to be uncompromising in rooting out heresy. In 1559 Philip published a decree forbidding Spaniards to study at foreign universities,¹ and it was in fact mainly against foreigners from fear of their contaminating Spain with their sects and heresies that public opinion was directed. Travelled Spaniards became an object of suspicion. Carranza, who had been so zealous against heresy at Oxford and Cambridge, was supposed to have caught the infection even as he stamped it out; Azpilcueta in 1570 felt obliged to defend himself for having studied in France, of which he kept such cherished memories; and it was in fear of this suspicion that Arias Montano, who had spent several years in Flanders, wished to remain in Italy, and returned to his native land with much reluctance. But apart from this wave of suspicion in the third quarter of the century, Spaniards had the reputation of standing by one another.² Moreover, when reaction was at its height a certain good sense and moderation were observable in Spain as compared with the Inquisition at Rome. Thus in 1575 a Spanish bishop who had spoken of Plato as divine, after the prevailing fashion of Spanish writers, noted with surprise that the epithet was deleted in the proofs of his book submitted to the censorship at Rome.³ The Copernican system, condemned in Italy, was accepted in Spain,⁴ where also Aristotle was discussed with the greatest freedom, whatever Fray Mancio might say (he declared that, as

¹ 'Mandamos que de aquí adelante ninguno de los nuestros subditos y naturales de qualquier estado o condicion o calidad que sean, ecclesiasticos, seglares, frayles ni clérigos, ni otros algunos, no puedan ni salir destos reynos a estudiar ni enseñar ni aprender ni a estar ni residir en universidades, estudios ni colegios fuera destos reynos'.

² The Spanish nation, says a Venetian ambassador in 1573, 'è priva di quel gran vizio della intolleranza' (of one another), ap. Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe II*, vol. iv, p. 435.

³ *Autobiografías y Memorias* (Nueva Bib. Aut. Esp.), Madrid, 1905, p. 181. Huarte (*Examen de Ingenios*, Bib. Aut. Esp. lxxv. 430) says that Plato was called divine because he had borrowed so much from the Old Testament.

⁴ Cabrera (ii. 666) speaks impartially of 'los insignes Ptolemeo y Copernico'.

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St. Thomas was founded on Aristotle and the faith on St. Thomas, it was sheer heresy to speak ill of the Stagirite). Independence among Spanish scholars was by no means confined to El Brocense. Lorenzo Palmireno pointed out in 1560 that the Inquisition in Spain was more tolerant than Rome in not prohibiting Erasmus' *Adagia*. Many other examples of the essential humanity and moderation of the Spanish might be adduced; their early care, for instance, of the deaf and dumb, a special college being founded for their education at Oña, in Navarre. Witches were not burnt in Spain as in other countries. Fray Pedro de Valencia in 1610 said they should be treated as lunatics;¹ while a century earlier Vives had protested against the application of torture to extract confession of guilt. It was, however, easy to mistake Spanish outspokenness for intolerance, as it was for the enemies of the Spanish Empire to take advantage of the denunciations of Las Casas, and of the charges of 'hellish tortures' made by a few Protestant refugees. If a Spanish friar, Las Casas, had not been in advance of his age very little would have been heard of the Spanish cruelties in the New World.² If there had not been a rival religion and a political purpose behind the charges of intolerance, even less would have been heard of the tortures of the Inquisition, which differed from those applied in other countries not in kind but in being less frequent. Cruelty of individual Spanish adventurers was a fact, although not a fact peculiar to Spaniards; on the other hand, intolerance scarcely existed in Spain in the same degree as in other countries of Europe. Almost the only eminent thinkers persecuted by the Inquisition were a group of professors suspected of being of Jewish descent, and of doubting the verbal inspiration of the Vulgate—Luis de Leon, Grajal, Martinez, Gudiel, Sigüenza, Arias Montano—and a reaction soon made itself felt against the persecution of the Hebrew scholars, as in the protests of Pedro Chacon, Zúñiga, and Agustín.³ When we remember that three centuries after Luis

¹ In his *Reprobacion de Supersticiones* (1538) Ciruelo has a chapter 'De la nigromancia y xorguinidad de las bruxas malditas'.

² In Leopardi's *Pensieri* Las Casas and his supporters are forgotten and the *teologi spagnuoli* are lumped together as opponents of the rights of the natives.

³ See C. Muiños Sáenz, *Fr. Luis de León y Fr. Diego de Zúñiga* (1915), p. 159, and *Francisci Sancti . . . Opera* (1766) i. 6.

de Leon's trial, in 1875, Professor Robertson Smith was dismissed from his Chair for venturing to question the verbal inspiration of the Authorized Version of 1611, we realize that it may be as well for us to throw no stones—least of all for those who in their weak-minded indifference neglect even to read the world's noblest poetry in Hebrew and English, and call their dullness liberty, progress, or toleration. In 1530 the University of Paris had condemned the proposition that 'the Scriptures cannot be perfectly understood without a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek'. Ineptitude was not confined to the adversaries of Luis de Leon.

Spain strenuously opposed the Reformation and the revolution which overthrew scholasticism, and instead of being content to redress its abuses abolished its subtlety, logic, and clear reasoning, substituting vagueness of thought and sentimentalism and pandering to the individual reason or desires of the uneducated, thus directly paving the way for the horrors of the French Revolution and the state of Europe in the twentieth century. Philip II led a forlorn hope against this false democracy and the communism of the Anabaptists, and although he was defeated his work was perhaps not wholly in vain; one may perhaps see it bearing fruit in the reserves of strength possessed by Spain to-day. Scholasticism maintained itself in Spain (Huarte considered that the heretics hated it because of its clear distinctions and speaks of the empty chatter, *vaniloquencia y parlería*, of German, English, Flemish, and French theologians), and perhaps no other country could have produced in the second half of the sixteenth century a poet like Luis de Leon, who was also a logician and could speak at one moment of *quiddificatio*, at another of the 'clarísima luz pura que jamás anochece'; one to whom beauty was indeed truth, truth beauty. But if Spain opposed the Reformation she vigorously advocated reform. It should always be remembered that the conflict was triangular. At the very beginning of the sixteenth century we find King Ferdinand joining with his son-in-law, King Manuel of Portugal, in exhorting the Pope to redress the many abuses in the Church of Rome. The attitude of the Spanish Crown, from the time absolute monarchy was established in the fifteenth

century, was regalist and independent. Spain did not admit the temporal power of Rome; in 1527 Spanish troops sacked Rome and in 1556 the Pope excommunicated Charles V and Philip II.¹ Ferdinand and Isabella claimed to act as those who represent the universal Church in their kingdoms: 'nos que representamos la yglesia universal'.² The celebrated Prima Professor of Theology at Salamanca, Fray Francisco de Vitoria, wrote to the Constable Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco on November 19, 1536, that 'I would ask no other boon of God than that He should make these two princes [Charles V and François I] true brothers in affection as they are by birth, for there would then be no more heretics in the Church, and indeed no more Moors in existence than they willed, and the Church would be reformed whether the Pope wished it or not.' Spain was in fact as eager for reform within the Church, as keen, in Bacon's words, to 'call the Church of Rome to account for their degenerate manners', as were foreign Catholics such as More, Erasmus, Goes, Vicente, or Dürer. The general attitude of the Spanish nation towards Rome might be summed up in the words of an anonymous Spanish work published in 1559: that 'the Popes and Cardinals have been the cause and origin of very many and very great evils in Christendom.'³ Spanish opinion is represented too by Azpilcueta's statement that the Pope has no authority over foreign princes.⁴ The Spanish Church consistently maintained its independence. Its wealth was great, as was that of the Religious Orders. It is universally admitted that the discipline, morality, and education of the Spanish convents compared very favourably with those in other countries. Luis de Leon might denounce abuses, and Azpilcueta declared in 1568 that the Franciscans might be 'less in number and more in spirit', but

¹ In 1530 Cardinal de Osma wrote to Charles V of 'the envy felt by France and England at seeing your Majesty so close to the Pope's heart'. But this was unusual. Spain in advocating a Council to redress abuses was opposed, now by the Pope, now by France. By the middle of the sixteenth century Spanish theologians had begun to despair of reform at Rome.

² Wentworth Webster, *Gleanings in Church History* (London, 1903), p. 163.

³ See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iv. 449.

⁴ 'summam potestatem laicam non pendere ab ecclesiastica . . . neque actu neque habitu eam esse penes Papam in regnis ei alioqui non subjectis.' See M. Arigita y Lasa, *El Doctor Navarro Martín de Azpilcueta*, p. 590.

we have the impartial witness of the anticlerical, if Catholic, Brocense that Erasmus would not have attacked the monks had they resembled those of Spain,¹ and the Venetian ambassador in 1573 describes the Spanish convents as 'seminaries of goodness and learning'.² But it suffices to examine the life in the great Spanish convents in the sixteenth century and to see the facility for every kind of study given to an Augustinian like Luis de Leon, or a Dominican like Luis de Granada. Sons of some of the noblest families in the land were monks, and men of strong character, including some of the greatest poets and men of letters, were to be found in the convents. The same ambassador speaks of the flourishing state of the Dominicans and Hieronymites.³ In 1623 there were said to be 200,000 'religious' in Spain.⁴ As early as the sixteenth century many a town council was opposed to the foundation of more convents. In the middle of the sixteenth century it was calculated that the clergy possessed half the revenue of the realm. The English Ambassador in 1609 reports that 'The riches of the temporall hath in a manner all fallen into the mouths and devouring throates of the spirituals'. It should be observed, however, that the resources of Spain had been drained for the expenses of foreign wars, and that if ecclesiastical property had weathered the tremendous financial crisis in which other property in Spain had been taxed out of existence this was partly because it could not be touched, partly because it was better administered than were the State finances. Writing

¹ *Doc. inéd.* ii. 108. According to a witness in El Brocense's trial he had said that Erasmus had waged war on the monks because they were dissolute, but would have respected those of Spain 'por ser muy religiosos'. Villalobos, *Libro de los Problemas* (Zaragoza, 1543) says that the monks lived well since they were reformed in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, 'y son muy ingratos y amigos de escándalos y de falsa doctrina los que los maltratan' (ed. *Bib. Aut. Esp.* xxxvi. 418).

² Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, vol. iv, p. 428. Cf. p. 443: 'ancora che l'universale si dimostri molto cattolico e cristiano e che le buone lettere teologali nei vescovi, nei monasteri e nelle università fioriscano tanto quanto in qualsivoglia parte del mondo.' Ascham refers to 'Stoicks, Anabaptistes and Friars' as rude and barbarous in their writings, but this did not apply to Spain.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 439. The Hieronymite Order has 50 or 60 *amplissimi monasteri* and the Dominican Order is *ancor maggiore*. Luis de Leon refers to the *familias amplissimas* of the Franciscans and Dominicans (*Opera*, iv. 355).

⁴ An exaggerated account gives the numbers* for 1570 as 400,000 monks, 200,000 of *ordenes menores*, and 300,000 secular clergy.

to his Ambassador in Rome in 1568, Philip II points out that the Hieronymite Order's reputation for great wealth was due in part to its excellent administration.¹ No one who knows the state of the finances of Charles V and Philip II (they were perpetually in the clutches of German and Flemish moneylenders) will believe that any other result would have been attained by seizing Church property than that of enriching a few foreign bankers and ruining the whole instead of the half of Spain. If a man squanders all he possesses with the exception of the capital belonging to his wife which he cannot legally spend, it would be unreasonable to accuse his wife of enriching herself at his expense. It might well be maintained that if any wealth remained in Spain it was due to the protection of the Church; the Spanish people indeed had the good sense to see this² and supported the *democracia frailuna*, thanks to which also agriculture was not wholly extinguished. When the Crown attempted to lay hands on ecclesiastical property it met with serious resistance. The Emperor, being as usual in straits for money, had obtained Bulls from Julius III authorizing him to sell a part of the Church's property in Spain. Cano and six other theologians were ordered to give their opinion on this matter in 1553, and the result was a 'Hands off' couched in the most unmistakable language. The proposal was condemned as sacrilegious: 'neither can his Majesty with a good conscience ask for the permission nor his Holiness grant it.' The Pope, said the seven theologians, by the vigorous pen of Cano, will not grant it for nothing and 'his Majesty cannot be a party to such traffic'. The heretics of England and Germany would see in the proposal an imitation of their own methods and the Monarchy would suffer in various ways.³ In 1559 Cano declared that princes who begin by confiscating the superfluous revenues of the Church find the honey sweet and end by taking everything. Thus a papal Bull might be obtained by the King

¹ *Doc. inéd.* t. vii, p. 355: 'Si bien la Orden de Sancto Hieronimo y monasterios della están en opinion de muy ricos, en efecto por el buen gobierno y buena orden que tienen en la distribucion de la hacienda paresce mucho lo que no es tanto.'

² See an interesting passage in Sigüenza, *op. cit.*, i, 173.

³ The famous *Parecer* is printed in Fermín Caballero, *Vida del Illmo. Melchor Cano* (1871), Apéndice, pp. 478-81.

and opposed by the Spanish Church, while more often the opposition to the execution of Bulls came from the King. It became impossible to carry out a single order of his Holiness in Spain. On the other hand the Spanish Inquisition was national and was considered a defence against the invasion of foreign heresies, much as a modern State might seek to protect itself against inroads of Bolshevism. The opinion of Fray Felipe de Meneses that 'if God had not set the Inquisition round Spain as a wall of fire, the plague of irreligion would have penetrated from Germany into Spain'¹ was widely held. But let us take a more impartial and independent witness, that of the Venetian Ambassador in 1573, the year after Luis de Leon's arrest. He describes the Inquisition as feared but necessary, and accepted as such and approved, while its sentences were always extremely just.² Scarcely any but New Christians and *moriscos* were affected.³ It was intended to awe the people, and to this end the secrecy of the Inquisition and the pomp and magnificence of the *autos de fé* were directed. The comical terror of the old woman in Quevedo's *El Gran Tacaño*, the timid man who when asked by an Inquisitor for a pear from his garden uprooted and presented him with the pear-tree, the surprise of Don Quixote that the showman's monkey had not been denounced to the Inquisition, the sinister phrase '*amanecer en la Inquisicion*', are instances of this awe. But the real amount of fear inspired in any one with a good conscience does not seem to have been greater than that of cellular imprisonment in an honest man of the twentieth century. 'They came to me', says Santa Teresa, 'in great fear to say that the times were difficult and that I might be denounced to the Inquisition: this amused me and made me laugh, for as to that I never had any fear.'⁴ El Brocense declares that he wrote *sin escrúpulo*, knowing that what he wrote would be

¹ *Luz del Alma Cristiana* (Sevilla, 1555). See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol. iii, col. 774.

² Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, vol. iv, pp. 416-17. Cf. p. 444 ('è sommamente necessario') and p. 484 ('procede con tanta autorità e severità che tiene tutti in grandissimo spavento').

³ *Ibid.*, p. 439: 'la maggior parte per non dir tutti ch'essa condanna.' These Jewish converts and *moriscos* are 'una grandissima e scandalosissima quantità di abitatori' (*ibid.*, p. 437).

⁴ *Libro de su vida*, cap. 33.

examined by the censorship,¹ a remark which recalls the statement of a later writer that the existence of the Inquisition allowed the Spanish to sleep in peace.² The effect of the Inquisition was thus, at least to some minds, not repression of thought but the utmost freedom in its expression. El Brocense, who was always challenging opinion by remarks of extraordinary rashness, did come very near the cells of the Inquisition, and Fray Luis de Leon had the envy of rivals and partly his own imprudence, zeal carried to the verge of excess, to thank for an imprisonment of nearly five years. His trial was fair, but should have been over in five months. The procedure of the Inquisition, if slow and pedantic, was just, and the great majority of its verdicts were marked by a severe impartiality.³ Its cruelty was less than that of the civil courts. Its horror consisted in the fact that it was a medieval instrument acting at a time when men's minds had received a new sensitiveness. The confinement was not entirely solitary. Pedro de Cazalla, for instance, had several prison companions, in whom, however, the wary were cautious of confiding. The slowness of the Inquisition was tremendous. Whenever Luis de Leon required more paper for his defence he told the *alcaide* of the prison, who conducted him to the audience-chamber, where he made his request to the Inquisitors, and after receiving some duly numbered sheets of paper returned to his cell. Many a prisoner in solitary confinement would welcome such procedure. The prisoners had regular food and a daily supply of water. They might have their own bed and clothes. Luis de Leon was plentifully supplied with books⁴ and light. Apart from a few Hebrew scholars it would be difficult to give a single name of a well-known man of letters or science who suffered seriously at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. Its eminent victims were usually theologians, who

¹ *Doc. inéd.* ii. 122.

² 'Contentos vivimos los Españoles con la Inquisicion, pues nos guarda el sueño'.

³ Cf. J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisboa, 1921; 1922 on cover), p. 148: 'O exame dos processos mostra que, na sua crueldade e dentro de um systema juridico abominavel, em geral eram rectos os que pronunciavam as sentenças.'

⁴ This compares favourably with the treatment of Goes at Lisbon, who after nine months' imprisonment in 1571 begs for a Latin book to read, 'porque estou apodrecendo de ociosidade'.

were expected to know the difference between orthodoxy and heresy;¹ but its persecution of Santa Teresa, San Juan de la Cruz, Juan de Avila (arrested in 1532), Mariana, Fray Luis de Granada, and a few more was not of a very serious nature. El Brocense, arrested at the age of seventy-seven, did not enter the cells of the Inquisition. A celebrated Spaniard, Miguel Servet (Servetus), who had partly forestalled Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, but could not fathom the mystery of the Trinity, was burnt at the stake, but it was by Calvin at Geneva in 1553. (Five students were burnt at Lyons in the same year.) Giordano Bruno was burnt at Rome in 1600. Aonio Paleario was strangled and burnt at Rome in or about 1566 for his views on justification; Pierre de la Ramée was included in the massacre of Saint-Barthélemy in 1572; Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, More, Dolet and other eminent men suffered, but not in Spain. Galileo Galilei and Tommaso Campanella were persecuted in Italy, whereas the Copernican system was approved by a Spanish Augustinian, Fray Diego de Zúñiga, and adopted by Salamanca University in 1561. The number of victims of the Spanish Inquisition has been greatly exaggerated. At the imposing *auto de fé* at Valladolid in May 1559 only two persons were burnt alive, nor is it probable that Philip II had ever seen a person burnt in Spain, as they were burnt not at but after the ceremony. Yet scores of foreign writers, including careful and impartial historians, have during centuries assured the world that the decadence of Spain was due to the Inquisition, misled by the old fallacy of *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*.² A few Spanish writers have furnished grotesquely absurd statements³

¹ Although, as Luis de Leon states (*Opera*, v. 34), 'res fidei sunt prope innumerae et difficillimae cognitionis'.

² e. g. 'Folded under the dark wing of the Inquisition Spain was shut out from the light which in the sixteenth century broke over the rest of Europe, stimulating the nations to greater enterprise in every department of knowledge' (Prescott). 'Debarred as he was from speculation, the domain of science was closed against the Spaniard'. So *The Cambridge Modern History*, i. 378: 'The Spanish Inquisition was a terror to every suspected pursuit' (what is a suspected pursuit?). But one might fill volumes with the extraordinary statements made by writers who had no knowledge of Spain in the sixteenth century from within.

³ e. g. Adolfo de Castro, *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles* (1851), p. 399: 'las ciencias huían de un estado donde el uso de la razon era un delito y donde solo recibían premio la más grande ignorancia y el desprecio de todo ejemplo

which have been eagerly taken up by foreign critics, and it is still difficult for a reader not to imbibe the conviction that the Inquisition paralysed all thought, initiative, and science in Spain. The facts show that the Inquisition never persecuted men of science in Spain, that the utmost independence of thought existed, that science flourished in Spain in the sixteenth century as never before or since, that it was the golden age of Spanish literature, that political writings characterized by the greatest freedom, and indeed violence, were permitted in Spain to an extent unparalleled in other countries, and that many religious works of the period were condemned at Rome long before they were condemned in Spain or, as in the case of Valles' *De Sacra Philosophia* (1587), were allowed to circulate without modification until well on in the seventeenth century. But, it is said, even if the Inquisition did not check thought and speculation, it deliberately prevented the spread of education and kept the people in ignorance. Yet here we have another confusion of thought which shows how badly we need the old logic of scholasticism. The Inquisition did not oppose education, it encouraged it, and rarely have there been such facilities for education as in sixteenth-century Spain. If the greater part of the nation remained ignorant, of what country is that not true? What the Inquisition did was to oppose giving certain books to read to the uneducated. Philip II protected men of learning, encouraged translations of the classics, and founded libraries and archives in Spain, in strong contrast to the burning of libraries in Flanders in 1566. It is necessary to turn to other causes if we would explain the decay of the Spanish Empire, the decadence which set in at the end of the seventeenth century, although it should be observed that decadence did not extend to the character of the individual Spaniard, but merely denotes the fall of Spain from her place as a great Power. It would be truer to say that, although it may be partly ascribed to the very greatness of Spain's effort in the sixteenth century and partly to the introduction of luxury with the gold of the new world, her decadence was due paradoxically to the independence of the national character. When de virtud, de valor y de sabiduría.' This interesting book is full of amazing distortions of the same kind.

the age of commercial competition and industrial capitalism had become established, the Spaniard, to whom the personal element was everything, stood aside. The Castilian was never commercial and had a horror of the mechanical.¹ Despite some flourishing industries at Toledo, Cuenca, and one or two other towns, their industrial system was very weak and quite unable to keep the gold of the discoveries from emigrating to Antwerp and other industrial cities, whereas England developed her industries and her empire simultaneously. England or any other country in the early sixteenth century would have built up as artificial an empire as did Spain. Political economy was the science least studied in Spain in the sixteenth century, and her finance, depending not on commerce but on bars of gold from America, and propped up by ruinous loans from foreign bankers, was thoroughly artificial from the first. The stable prosperity of agriculture was neglected and, while prices rose for all, wealth had come only to a small section of successful adventurers. Prosperity had in fact come to be a gamble, not the reward of persistent labour. The cities became crowded with idle loiterers, and the *sopistas* thronged the convent gates, while the unproductive or liberal professions, such as those of lawyer and advocate, began to flourish. As individualism was crushed out by the mechanical character of modern civilization, Spain inevitably fell behind; but it would be as sensible to lay the blame for this on the Inquisition as to make the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Lord Chancellor responsible for the stagnation of trade. A great effort necessarily brings a great reaction and exhaustion in its train, and the energy displayed by Spain in the sixteenth century, in conquering a new world and the greater part of Europe, in standing up alone against the demagogy of the Reformation and the corruption of Rome, and in incessant devotion to literature, art, and science, would be difficult to parallel in the world's history.

¹ Even the enlightened Huarte says that 'ninguna cosa baja tanto al hombre como ganar de comer en oficio mecánico'. (*Examen de Ingenios* in *Bib. Aut. Esp.* t. lxxv. p. 481.) Cf. Sigüenza, *op. cit.* ii. 463: 'la nación española no se amaña estos ingenios ni tiene paciencia para ellos y lo que puede hazer facilmente y sin trabajo gusta más de hazerlo a fuerça de braços.'

III

Salamanca University

'I love the University of Salamanca'—SAMUEL JOHNSON.

'Aquí también hablan las piedras.'—*Sermon of the Bishop of Salamanca in the New Cathedral, Easter Sunday, 1906.*

'Salamanca, que enhechiza la voluntad de volver a ella a todos los que de la apacibilidad de su vivienda han gozado.'—CERVANTES.

'La dicha universidad, que es luz de España y de la cristiandad.'—LUIS DE LEON.

FOUNDED at the end of the twelfth century by King Alfonso IX, encouraged by the holy King Fernando, and by his son, Alfonso the Learned, who increased its number of Chairs, endowing, among others, those of music and plainsong, the University of Salamanca soon ranked with those of Paris, Bologna, and Oxford.¹ During the first centuries of its existence it was under the jurisdiction of the Pope, and the Statutes granted by Martin V in 1422 remained the basis of its Statutes in the sixteenth century. Here, as at Toledo, Arabic and Greek studies took refuge when they had died out of the rest of Europe, so that it was always able to produce one or two scholars learned in the classics, the few that were then known, and in Arabic and Hebrew. But it was in the reign of the Catholic Kings that a fresh impetus was given to learning. They came to Salamanca on their return from a pilgrimage to St. James in Galicia in the year 1480. Columbus, although rejected officially by the University, won the ear of Queen Isabel through the mediation of Fray Diego de Deza, who received him in the Dominican Convent of San Esteban in 1484. Fray Diego, who was Prima Professor of Theology at Salamanca, had been appointed tutor to the young Prince Juan. Deza died later, in 1525, as Archbishop-elect of Toledo, but the young prince died in 1496 and Queen Isabel hastened from Madrigal to Salamanca, to the deathbed of her only son. The

¹ Cf. *Constitutiones* (1562), f. 21: 'studium Salamantinum quod unum de quatuor orbis generalibus studiis ex dispositione apostolica in regione Hispanica celebri fama resplendet.' The first statutes issued by royal decree were those of 1538.

favour shown to the University by the Catholic Kings was continued by Charles V, who visited it in 1534, and by his son Philip II, who was married here in 1543. The right of all its graduates to the privileges of nobility was confirmed. The University had now become thoroughly national and the interest of the Kings was a mark of the new absolute power of the throne, and of their independent attitude towards the Pope, whose last hold over the University ended when Paul III in 1543 authorized it to annul previous apostolic constitutions. As the gold from the Indies flowed in, building on a large scale went on in Spain, and wealthy prelates vied with one another in splendid foundations which carried on the great traditions of Salamanca's architecture. When Luis de Leon went up to the University at the age of fourteen, many buildings, wrought of that wonderful stone from the quarries of Villafranca, which time turns to a mellow gold, as of sunshine petrified in a rosy-fingered dawn, although they might not be of Renaissance style, seemed still to preserve all the fresh inspiration, the glow and wonder of the Renaissance. Gleaming in their newness stood the House of Shells (Casa de las Conchas), with its sculptured lilies of the Maldonados, its stone scallop-shells, the slender pillars of its *ajimez* windows, the exquisite grace of its iron window-screens (*rejas*) along its front of severe and massive architecture; the Casa de la Salina, the austere delightful façade of the Casa de las Muertes; while Berruguete had just carved the beautiful doorway of the ancient convent of Sancti Spiritus. Even more recent was the original architecture of the Ursulas church and the Renaissance palace of the Counts of Monterey. Work was begun in 1524 on the magnificent front of the Convent of San Esteban, and this and the New Cathedral, begun in 1513, and the spacious and beautiful Colegio del Arzobispo (1521-78)¹, only slowly revealed themselves through their mass of scaffolding to the wondering eyes of the citizens of Salamanca in the course of the sixteenth century. A dozen churches, of which the oldest dated from the eleventh century, were eclipsed by the marvels of the Old Cathedral and the New. The plateresque style,

¹ Berruguete, Alonso de Covarrubias, as well as Pedro de Ibarra were at work on this *Colegio*.

embroidering on the severe earlier Castilian architecture, exquisitely chiselled such doorways as those of San Benito, Sancti Spiritus, the Casa de las Muertes, the Casa de Garcia Grande, and many other houses, public and private. Other plainer buildings, combining solidity with an artistic sense of proportion, lined the streets with massive walls and rounded archways. The narrow streets, one of which now bears the name of El Brocense, had, like the inns (those *mesones* to which the students came so often to inquire if the *arriero*, the *recuero de su tierra*, had arrived), indigenous *castizo* names: del Ave Maria, del Rosario, del Almendro, de la Alegría, de Abraça-Moças, de Raspagatos, del Azafranal, del Abrojal, de los Bofardadores, de los Bermejeros, de Olleros, del Nogal, de Val Florido, de la Viña, de Pero Cojo, de la Sierpe.¹ The city had thirteen gates. The inhabitants were kindly and affable, combining a love of pleasure with zeal for knowledge.² Salamanca is very poor, said Santa Teresa,³ as an inland town without industries must necessarily be in sixteenth-century Castille, when agriculture faded before the gold of India. Others note the fertility of the soil round Salamanca.⁴ Opposite the Cathedrals stood the University buildings: the Escuelas Mayores, with its splendid façade of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, and its earlier stairway of beautifully and curiously sculptured stone leading up to a gallery⁵ with cedar *artesonado*

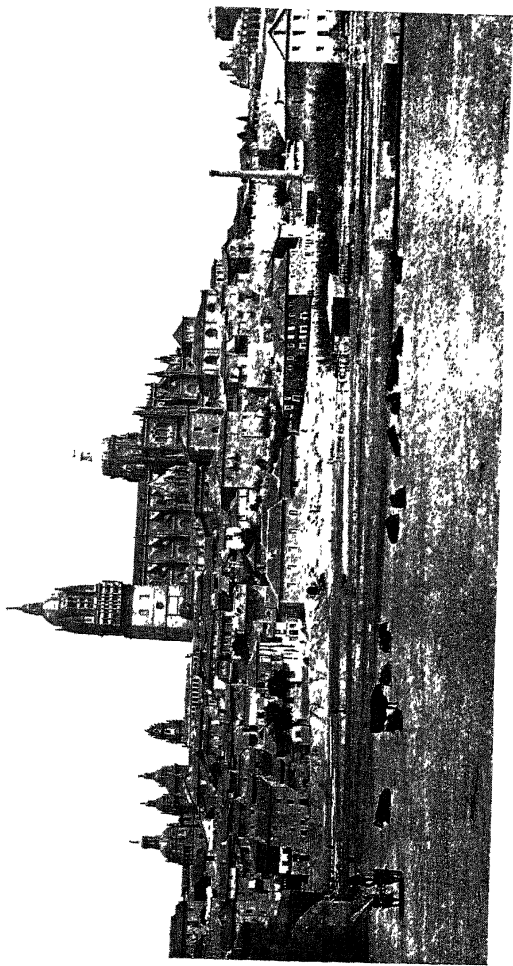
¹ Gil González de Avila, *Historia de las Antigüedades de la Ciudad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1606). He says Salamanca had 190 bootmakers, 190 upholsterers (*tapiceros*), 120 tailors, 40 hatters, 38 linendrapers (*roperos*), 30 innkeepers, 47 barbers, 24 silversmiths, 12 chemists, 8 schoolmasters, 30 printers, 43 booksellers (earlier the bookshops, mainly in the Rua Nueva and Plaza Nueva, between the Escuelas Mayores and Menores, were even more numerous); 170 *aguadores* distributed well over fifty ducats' worth (800 reales) a day of the excellent water—of marvellous cleansing property (Espinela speaks of its *frialidad y sutileza*)—of the river Tormes, while it was the less frequent duty of sixty *Hermanos del Trabajo* to bury all who were drowned in the river or found dead upon the highways.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ 'por ser muy pobre el lugar', *Libro de las Fundaciones*, cap. 18. A generation earlier Clenardus had said: 'Nam Salmanticae rerum certe omnium est copia'.

⁴ Gil González de Avila, *op. cit.*, p. 12: 'la felicidad y fertilidad de su terreno, que bunda [*sic*] de trigo, ceuada, centeno, garuancos, vino, azeite, miel, queso, manteca, fruta, lino, pesca, ganados, caça, prados y montes.'

⁵ The lecture-rooms opened on to the court below this gallery. One of them with its quaint pulpit and rough benches is now known as that of Fray Luis de Leon.



SALAMANCA FROM THE RIVER TORMES

ceiling and the iron *reja* of its famous library.¹ On the other side of a paved court, where now stands the statue of Fray Luis de Leon, were the Hospital del Estudio and the severely and exquisitely beautiful Escuelas Menores, in which lectures were given on grammar and music.

The University had two heads, a fact which sometimes led to rivalry and dissension: the Maestrescuela (or Escolastico, or Chancellor, Cancelario), appointed for life originally by the Pope and in the sixteenth century by those of the professors who were *diputados*, and the Rector, a young man, sometimes himself a student, of noble birth, chosen annually by the students through the professors who were *consilarios*.² The latter, eight in number, were originally delegates from the various *naciones* of students, and even in the sixteenth century had to be of different dioceses (they might even be elected from Aragon, Navarre, or any other foreign nation).³ The ordinary business of the University was conducted by the *diputados* and by professors in committee, but the University also held full meetings (*claustrós plenos*) on any more important occasion, when during the sixteenth century fifty or sixty professors might be present. The number of students has been a matter of some discussion. The number in the first extant matriculation list (1546-7) was 5,150, and it is to be noticed that this steadily increases during the next twenty years until high-water mark is reached with 7,832 in 1566-7. Twelve times in the second half of the sixteenth century the number exceeded 6,000, but after 1629-30, with 5,083, it never again reached 5,000.⁴ The comparatively small

¹ The library was open for two hours morning and afternoon. Besides ordinary books, says Pedro Chacón (*Historia de la Universidad*, p. 35), it is 'full of rare and exquisite volumes of every kind'. El Brocense describes (1573) its statues (*statuæ lapideæ ita affabre expolitæ ut cum antiquitate possint certare*), *Opera* (1766), iii, 241. Occasionally books might be taken out. In 1528 El Pinciano asks for 'the second part of Pliny', offering as security some jewels of gold and silver (Getino, *El Maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria*, p. 81).

² For the respective duties of the Maestrescuela and Rector see Vidal, *Memoria histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1869), pp. 202-6. Juan de Avila wrote to a young Rector of Salamanca warning him not to fly before his time like a young swallow (*golondrín*): 'No se arroje a reformar grandes cosas' (*Epistolario Espiritual*, i. 37).

³ *Constitutiones* (1562), f. 2. v.

⁴ Cf. the number (including women) at Oxford in 1920: 4,651, and at

number in the sixteenth century was accounted for by the creation of so many other Universities, and perhaps this led to exaggeration in estimating earlier numbers. Gonzalez de Ávila, who based his account of the University on that of Pedro Chacón, declares that there were formerly over 14,000 students.¹ The author of *La Tía Fingida* nearly reaches this huge figure at the end of the sixteenth century!² A modern writer declares that 'the privileges of the University were shared by landlords, innkeepers, servants, and a multitude of other persons, including the carriers who conducted the students on their journeys and brought them provisions. There was a time when the number of those who matriculated at Salamanca was 18,000, without including more than 7,000 students'.³ Although there is here obviously some confusion, and it is unlikely that the worthy *arrieros* ever figured as students of the University, these large traditional numbers may, no doubt, be accounted for by the fact that in the Middle Ages the University consisted of the whole community and not merely of undergraduate scholars, just as to-day one may be told that a convent is a community of a hundred, only to find that the actual number of monks is perhaps under fifty. Some such confusion (including all servants and pages) must account for the doubling of the actual number of

Cambridge in the same year: 5,733. The number of students at Alcalá in the sixteenth century fell short of 5,000. The Salamanca list (1546-1844) is given in Fray Luis G. A. Getino, *El Maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria* (1914), pp. 257-9. The figures for the beginning of the seventeenth century show that Jerónimo de Alcalá's *El Donado Hablador, Alonso, Mozo de Muchos Años* (1624) was accurate in saying 'Fuimos a escuelas, juntandonos con los demás estudiantes que pasaban de cinco mil de matrícula' (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, t. xviii, *Novelas posteriores a Cervantes*, p. 494).

¹ *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, p. 190: 'Allegaron a mas de catorze mil.' Lucio Marineo Siculo gives the number as 7,000 at the end of the fifteenth century. 'Ad hoc praeterea litterarum gymnasium,' he says, 'et omnium virtutum emporium, quamplurimi non Hispani solum sed aliarum quoque nationum litteris operam daturi conveniunt.'

² 'de ordinario cursan en ella y habitan diez o doce mil estudiantes.' Richard Ford has 17,000 and 14,000 (in the fourteenth century). Cf. J. Townshend, *A Journey through Spain*, vol. ii (1792), p. 79: 'The students were formerly reckoned about sixteen thousand, but they are now much reduced and in 1785 the number of matriculas was nineteen hundred and nine.' In 1922 the number of students was under 400 (in 1812-13 it was 35). For the large number of 'students' in the Middle Ages see H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1895.

³ Antonio Gil de Zárate, *De la instrucción pública* (1855), t. ii, p. 264.

students (5031 in 1604-5) in *La Tía Fingida*. Salamanca could never have supported 14,000 or 18,000 actual students. Even with 6,000-8,000 in the sixteenth century it was difficult to find room. Santa Teresa in 1570 had much trouble in obtaining a house for her convent and in dislodging the students; when Archbishop Valdés wished to found the Colegio de San Pelayo, commonly known as Los Verdes, many inhabitants had to be turned out of their houses, not without the protest of the town council;¹ while the Jesuits at the end of the century were said to have offered an ounce (*onza*) of gold for every scallop-shell of the Casa de las Conchas. The students came, says Gonzalez de Avila, 'not only from Spain but from Italy, France, Flanders, Germany, England, Ireland, and the remotest Indies'.² There were hardy and quick-tempered Basques, attracted by the fame of Vitoria and the Navarrese Doctor; the more restive *extremeños*, now puffed up with the glory of Cortes and Pizarro, and Portuguese, with their susceptible pride,³ who came to the lectures of Aires Barbosa and Pedro Margalho and El Brocense; sprightly, malicious Andalusians, grave Castilians of a proud and noble simplicity, penurious Galicians, bold Manchegans, a crowd of fervent Valencians, Aragonese, and Catalans, of plausible if more superficial manners.⁴ The students of each region kept much together and had their own guilds. All alike had to go through the first course of 'Artes', beginning with 'Antonio' (Lebrija's grammar), going on to passages of Plautus and Terence, the letters of Cicero and Pliny, and ending with Virgil, Horace, Lucan,

¹ Dorado, *Historia de la Ciudad de Salamanca*, 1863 ed., pp. 351, 354.

² Gil Gonzalez de Avila, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, p. 190. Azpilcueta claims to have lectured to over 1,000 persons: 'in auditorio octingentorum circiter scholasticorum' (Arigita, *Vida*, p. 114); 'cum magno mille et amplius auditorum applausu' (ibid., p. 116). It is doubtful if there was any lecture-room capable of holding 1,000 persons. El Brocense lectured in his house to 15 or 20, and in the Schools to over 80 (*Doc. inéd.* ii. 43).

³ A Portuguese asked a Salamanca student who it was who was being sent to meet the Princess Maria in 1543. On being told that it was the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Bishop of Cartagena and others, he replied that it might have been the Archbishop of Toledo or even the Pope; whereupon the student suggested the 'recuerdo de Salamanca' and blows ensued.

⁴ *La Tía Fingida*: 'Hay aquí [at Salamanca] tambien una masa de aragoneses, valencianos, y catalanes: tenlos por gente pulida, olorosa, bien criada y mejor aderejada, mas no les pidas más.' For the Basques see Angel Ledesma, *Los Vascos en la Universidad de Salamanca*. Bilbao, 1919; and Amalio Huarte y Echenique, *La Nación de Vizcaya en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVII*. Salamanca, 1920.

Ovid, Livy, Sallust, Quintilian, and other Latin authors (including even Erasmus and Lorenzo Valla), and Greek classics such as Homer, Aristophanes, &c. The whole University was supposed to constitute a small republic, without difference of rank or privilege. The Statutes sternly forbade the wearing of silk or the hiring of houses on terms other than those fixed by the University assessors. In practice, however, the distinctions of money and rank were necessarily marked, and were even recognized in the later Statutes. We are a little surprised to find that the candidate for the degree of Bachelor must stand with uncovered head before the Examiners 'unless he is an illustrious or a priest',¹ that for irregularities in voting an ordinary student must go to prison for four days, while a nobleman (*generoso*) escaped with a fine of ten florins (seven ducats),² and that students of high rank might receive the degree of Bachelor sooner (in three years instead of four).³ Students of high rank came up to the University with a train of servants. On the other hand no one, of whatever rank or dignity, except the Rector, Maestrescuela, Professors, and those who had taken the degree of Licenciado, might wear silk. All shirts and gloves were to be plain. No pages were allowed to wear silk or any livery.⁴ The ordinary dress of the students consisted of a brown cassock and a long cape or cloak (*manteo*) and *birrete*, but the more penniless students, many of them attendants of the more favoured, seem to have worn almost anything, coloured shirts, hobnailed boots, ordinary caps and short *capas*, and were known as *capigorristas* or *capigorriones* (cloak-and-cappers). Nothing better shows the democratic character of the University than the fact that the most poorly clad servant might take his place on the benches of the lecture-room.⁵ That, however, did not prevent him and

¹ *Estatutos* (1561), f. 27: 'sino fuere Illustre o sacerdote esté en pie y descubierta el examinado.'

² *Ibid.*, f. 43 v.: 'sino fueren generosos o personas constituydas en dignidad o colegial, los quales paguen diez florines,' and f. 44 v.

³ *Constituciones* (1562), f. 11 v.

⁴ *Estatutos* (1561), ff. 70 v.-71 v.

⁵ *Alonso Mozo de Muchos Años* (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, t. xviii), p. 495: 'iban a escuelas los de mi casa y yo acudía a comprar lo necesario para nuestra comida, y despues ibame por los generales y oía al catedrático que mas gusto me daba: unas veces entraba en leyes, otras en medicina, otras en artes y sagrada teología, sin dejar los retóricos y matemáticos.'

others from suffering extremes of cold¹ and hunger. The *hambre estudiantina* was classical. If students boarded together as *camaristas*, with their servants if they had any, and an old *ama* to do the cooking, they were robbed by *ama* and servants and hunger still stood watching at the door. If they became *pupilos* they lost their freedom and starved with greater regularity. The *pupileros'* doors must be locked at seven o'clock in the evening from October 1 to March 1. They were to see to it that the students under their care devoted themselves to study, and were to provide each of them with a candle which should last at least three hours. Cards and dice were strictly forbidden. The *bachiller de pupilos* (= *pupilero*) was not to allow any discussion of the merits of rival candidates for Chairs. Twice a day he sat at the head of the table, and as dominie Cabra ladled out the thin *olla*. By statute he must provide for each student a pound of mutton daily, as in the *Colegios*, with good bread and a portion of wine and dessert.² But the *pupilo*, if he was of Extremadura, awaited anxiously the arrival of those excellent sausages,³ or, like Espinel or Marcos de Obregon, after eating the fare of the *pupilero* Galvez, devoured six large cakes at the excellent pastry-shop in the *Desafiadero*.⁴ The grinding poverty of many

¹ Espinel speaks of Salamanca as *tierra frigidísima* (Marcos de Obregon, Descanso noveno). Mateo Aleman in *Guzman de Alfarache* says that the students' stamping at lectures served two purposes, to interrupt the lecturer and to warm their feet. Archbishop Perez de Ayala, no doubt too well-mannered, says that 'llegaba a tener los pies sin sentido ninguno, de que no incurri en pocas enfermedades de cuartanas y otras.' (*Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Autobiografías y Memorias* (1905), p. 215). He went up to Salamanca in November, 1528.

² *El Orden que la Vniuersidad | de Salamanca manda | y estatuye y ordena que de aqui adelante los Bachilleres | que | an de tener pupillos an de tener y guardar*, etc., 1538: 'Una libra de carnero a cada pupilo cada día, media libra a comer y media libra a cenar en porcion como en colegios,' 'les den su ante y pos y el vino que les suelen dar.' Leon de Castro broke the rules and had meals separately with his sister. Will not 'Azorín' give us a picture of his house and sister and unhappy Italian secretary?

³ *La Tía Fingida*: 'media docena de chorizos que me trajo esta mañana el recuero de mi tierra.'

⁴ Vicente Espinel, *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregon* (1618). Rel. I. Descanso doce. He says that 'si los trabajos y necesidades que los estudiantes pasan no los llevase la buena edad en que los cogeno había vida para sufrir tantas miserias y descomodidades como se pasan ordinariamente . . . la tardanza de los arrieros . . . la falta de mantenimientos, el carecer de libros, la desnudez.' His descriptions refer to the life at Salamanca half a century before his book

students was officially recognized; they were like those who were

sent from Rome to Salamanca,
Hoping some accident might cut them off;
And meaning if I could to starve them there.¹

Excommunication awaited those who stole books from the library or tore out pages in order to sell the paper. Freezing students would creep into the sacristy of the University chapel to warm themselves at its *brasero*,² or of a winter evening gather round the glowing braziers of the women who sold roasted chest-nuts at the street-corners.³ The most favoured students, apart from a few of noble and wealthy families, were those who belonged to the colleges, and the theological students of the convents. For the greater part of Luis de Leon's stay at Salamanca the cassock (*sotana*) was confined to priests, members of colleges, and those who had taken the degree of bachelor at the University; but a royal decree of May 2, 1587, drawn up perhaps partly in the words of Luis de Leon, who obtained it, restored to all members of the University the use of the *sotana*. The reasons given are interesting: the *sotana* was very suitable and obliged its wearer to be more circumspect and modest in his movements and behaviour; its restriction had caused much envy and unpleasantness, and it saved expense, since beneath it any old garment might be worn (*la capa todo lo tapa*), whereas without it students were forced to buy good and costly clothes.⁴ It was the *colegiales* with their long stoles who lent a note of colour to street and lecture-room. Each college had its separate statutes and privileges. The statutes of most of these colleges

appeared, when Fray Mancio (†1576) was still alive and Espinel a poor student at Salamanca, supporting himself by giving ill-paid singing-lessons.

¹ Shelley, *The Cenci*, Act I, sc. i.

² *Estatutos* (1561), f. 57: 'Item mas el dicho sacristan tenga cargo de tener un brasero en la sacristia en el invierno . . . Y el Maestrescuela ponga censuras para que ningun estudiante entre en la sacristia con achaque de se yr a calentar.'

³ *Alonso Mozo de Muchos Años*, p. 495: 'el salir de noche a correr los tostadores de las castañeras.'

⁴ *Cédula* of May 2, 1587: 'nacian muchas envidias y pesadumbres . . . era muy desçente para los estudiantes y los obligaua a andar con mayor compostura y menos libertad . . . y era auito menos costoso que otro porque con él se cubria qualquiera ruyn vestido que truxesen debaxo, y no trayendo sotanas les obligaua a traer buenos y costosos bestidos.'

limited admission to poor scholars, but they were not always observed, and more attention came to be paid to the purity of a scholar's descent than to his poverty. The Colegios Mayores were in fact extremely exclusive.¹ Scholars of San Bartolomé, founded by Don Diego de Añaya, Archbishop of Seville, in 1401, must be subjects of the King of Castille,² not under eighteen years of age, poor, and 'no one who descends from Jews or Saracens' need apply.³ The *colegiales* were not allowed to speak a word of Spanish within the walls of the college. They were provided daily with one pound of meat, or its equivalent in fish, eggs, and milk, and with fruit, wine, and wood. Their servants were not allowed to eat or sleep in the college. They were not to go into the town without their 'habitus' ('gown'), or to carry arms. The college possessed a cook, a salaried barber, and a mule.⁴ The dress of the scholars, proud of the antiquity

¹ Cf. Tirso de Molina, *Cigarrales de Toledo*, ed. Victor Said Armesto (Madrid, 1913), p. 34: 'pueden pretender por su limpieza cualquiera beca en los Colegios Mayores de Salamanca y Alcalá.'

² This excluded Navarre, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia (which might have one *colegial* each), but not Granada. The *colegiales* were expressly forbidden to form cliques based on the *patria chica*.

³ 'de genere Judaeorum vel Sarracenorum'; 'of lineage of Moors, of Jews or Confessors', or if there was a rumour or report that any of their ancestors belonged to such lineage (1536).

⁴ 'Nullus Collegialium sub poena et coarctatione audeat intra terminos dicti Collegij loqui verbis vulgo conceptis'; 'nullus Collegialium audeat exire in Villam aliquo tempore sine habitu'; 'nullus audeat portare arma extra Collegium'; 'Sit vnus coqvvs'; 'the Rector shall not lend the College mule to any person outside for more than one day or to any *colegial* for more than three days without consent of the Consiliarios of the College.' Those who wish to know more of the life of Salamanca at a time when it produced a crowd of men famous in literature and other spheres will find much very interesting matter in the Statutes of the University (1538, 1561, 1594), and of the Colleges, in the works of Chacon, Gonzalez de Avila, Vidal, Dorado already quoted, in Gustave Reynier, *La Vie universitaire dans l'ancienne Espagne* (Paris, Toulouse, 1902), Fray L. G. A. Getino, *El Maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria* (Madrid, 1914), and in Enrique Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia Pragmática é Interna de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 2 vols (Salamanca, 1914, 1917). [The 1538 Statutes are given in vol. i, pp. 139-214; those of 1561, *ibid.*, pp. 217-356]; *Historia del Colegio Viejo de S. Bartholomé* . . . Escrita por el Ilmo. Sr. D. Francisco Rvz de Vergara . . . corregida y aumentada por Don Joseph de Roxas y Contreras, Marqués de Alventos, 3 vols., Madrid, 1766, 68, 70; *Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*, publicados por el P. Fr. Justo Cuervo, 3 vols., Salamanca, 1914-15; Antonio Gil de Zárate, *De la instrucción pública en España*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1855; and Vicente de La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades, Colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1884-89. The Statutes were very minute. They ordained, for instance, that twice a week the floors

of their college, was the brown *sotana* with a brown stole. The college, founded in 1401, could boast that between 1480 and the end of the sixteenth century it had produced three cardinals, sixty-six bishops and archbishops, two viceroys, one Grand Inquisitor, and five Prime Professors. Scholars of the College of St. James were to be Old Christians and for the most part Castilians (including Granada): one only from France, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal, Vizcaya, or Galicia, was to be admitted.¹ The scholars of the 'College of the Archbishop' (1524) wore broad stoles of scarlet. Those of the College of San Salvador or of Oviedo (1517) wore dark brown cloth and skyblue stoles, while the cloaks and stoles of the scholars of the College of Cuenca (founded in 1459, but not inaugurated till 1518) were of purple.² A note of green (green cloak, black stole) was introduced by the more recent Colegio de San Pelayo, founded in 1577, and limited to men of Asturias and of the dioceses of Seville, Sigüenza, and Orense.³ Besides these there were the four Colleges of the Military Orders (all dating from the second third of the sixteenth century). Members of that of Santiago or del Rey (1534) wore an ample black cassock (*loba*) with stole and the red cross of St. James on their breast, the *colegiales* of the Trilingüe had orange (*grana amarilla*) stoles; and there were a score of Colegios Menores, including the Colegio Trilingüe, at which El Brocense lectured, and that of San Pelayo. Students thronged the Schools also from the convents: the Dominican theological students of San Esteban, founded in 1256, the Austin friars from the convent of San Pedro (1377), the Mercenarians from the convent of Vera Cruz (1412),

and courts must be swept and watered, and that 'los estudiantes anden onestos en la barba y cabello y qual sea barba desonesta se dexa al arbitrio del juez'.

¹ *Constitutiones insignis ac celeberrimi Collegij maioris Diuo Jacobo Zebedaeo sacri, &c., Salmanticae*, 1586: 'Sed sint Christiani antiqui. Christianos antiquos intellegimus eos quorum parentes sive patres & aui, attai & maiores semper fuerunt habiti publice & occulte pro Christianis antiquis. Itaque nullo modo descendant ex genere Iudaeorum vel Maurorum . . . De Regnis vero extraneis videlicet Francie, Aragonie, Nauarre, Portugallie & de prouinciis Vizcaye & Gallecie vnus dñtaxat ex qualibet assumi valeat.'

² See V. de La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades*, vol. ii, p. 67. For the scholars at Alcalá Cardinal Ximenes decreed a garment of brown *burriel* with opening only for the head and arms.

³ *Constituciones del Colegio de San Pelayo, de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca, 1627.

the Benedictines from San Vicente, the Hieronymites from the convent of Santa María de la Vitoria (1490),¹ while later came the Jesuits, incorporated in the University in 1570, without the right of voting or holding Chairs, the Franciscans (1564), and the Carmelites (1581).² Starving students and penniless *hidalgos* might watch with mingled envy, derision, and respect a grave professor as he rode through the streets on his caparisoned mule, a lacquey going before him and two pages following after,³ but in all probability he would return their envy, for indeed his life was beset with work and worry. As 'deputy' or 'councillor' he might have to occupy himself with a mass of troublesome business, and he was subjected to a complicated network of duties, with the bedel ever on the watch to impose fines for the University Chest, the famous *arca*. There were but 144 *días lectivos* in the year, but 200 lectures must be delivered between St. Luke's Day (October 18), when the academic year began, and September 8, when it ended,⁴ and the ten principal *fiestas* and numerous minor holidays often brought their own special duties. On May 1 of each year the professors must take the oath of allegiance to the Rector in the cloister of the Cathedral, on St. Martin's Day they must assemble in the chapel of the University (the Capilla de San Jerónimo) to elect the Rector, and also the Primicerio (to act as first among the professors

¹ It lay a little outside the Puerta de Santo Tomas. The first stone was laid in 1522, although it commemorated a victory over the Portuguese of nearly half a century earlier.

² Thomas McCrie, by a careless quotation from Townsend's *Journey through Spain* (vol. ii, p. 84), says that thirty convents were founded at Salamanca in thirty-eight years (1480-1518; the latter date should be 1787) instead of in three centuries (*History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain* (London, 1829, p. 45). Dominican nuns were established at the beautiful little convent of Las Dueñas as early as 1419. The Augustinian nuns, in whose convent now hang some of the masterpieces of Ribera, came in 1534, and Santa Teresa's Carmelites in 1571. The Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses was founded at Valladolid by Thomas White of Clonmel, and was transferred to Salamanca in 1592, to the Colegio del Arzobispo, where it still is.

³ *Alonso Mozo de Muchos Años*, p. 495: 'Acuérdome que un día [at Salamanca] iba un letrado con su mula y gualdrapa, con un lacayo delante y dos pajes detras, con la gravedad y compostura posible.'

⁴ For a full list of the holidays at Valladolid University see Mariano Alcocer Martínez, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, vol. i (1918), pp. cxix-cxx. There was a fortnight at Easter, three days at Whitsuntide, a week at Christmas, besides the summer vacation (August-October) and forty-three single holidays.

during the year). On Low Sunday, after midday, was held the election of *diputados*.¹ Frequent committee and claustro meetings and attendance at the conferring of degrees and at examinations, numerous public discussions,² and constant difficulties raised by students' questions or by denunciations to the Inquisition made further inroads on their time, which, bound down by all these nails, came to be regarded as a precious possession. There were also special sermons and funeral honours, and the canvassing of votes in elections, while the professors once a year attended a Latin play acted by the students of the Colegio Trilingüe.³ The professors were liable to fine if they were absent without just cause, to a fine of one ducat if they failed to give a lecture, a fine of five *reales* if they did not attend a professor's funeral, a fine of three *reales* if during a lecture they spoke in Spanish instead of Latin, a fine of six ducats if they read or dictated their lectures or lectured from notes. This was a burning question, and although the Statutes of 1561 plainly forbade the practice, and Bishop Simancas, five years later, in a very highhanded manner procured a special royal decree against dictation, there was clearly a good deal to be said on either side. The professors claimed that there was a difference between

¹ The *diputados* were 22 : 10 professors of proprietary Chairs and ten other professors, elected yearly, besides the Rector and Maestrescuela.

² Those of theology alone were twenty-two in number : 'En Theología haya cada año diez disputas mayores, do el sustentante y arguyentes sean bachilleros o licenciados o religiosos que tengan cursos para bachilleres, y doze menores do sean oyentes no graduados' (*Estatutos*, 1561, f. 32). As to the value of these *actos* see Alfonso Garcia Matamoros, *De tribus discendi generibus* (Complviti, 1570), f. 181 v.-182 : Quod si iuvenes qui theologicas disputationes in scholis excipiunt congressi cum suis aequalibus easdem agitent, agitatae cum veterum authorum monumentis conferrent, collatas memoriae commendarent, quas aliquando a mente exciderent in codicem exceptorium referrent, me profecto reuocarem consuetudinemque scribendi vehementer laudarem. Verum tantum abest vt haec ita fiant vt quam plurimi ex his qui theologiae student et excolendi ingenii gratia professorum gymnasia frequentant his libellis exceptoriis contenti totum quadriennium neque diuum Thomam neque Scotum legant neque domi fortassis horum authorum libros habeant.' Cf. 180 v. : 'Verum iuvenes [at Alcalá] memoriae suae diffisi scriptis malunt fidere, quibus vt thesauro incubant et securi in vtramque aurem dormiunt.'

³ *Estatutos* (1561), f. 65 v. Cf. La Fuente, *op. cit.* The Statutes of 1538 ordained that each year should be presented a comedy of Plautus or Terence (a goode peece of a comedie of Terence also) or a tragicomedy, and the *regente* (in the second half of the century this was often El Brocense) who presented the best play should receive six ducats from the University Chest.

actual dictation from notes (a practice winked at in the case of Lebrija lecturing in extreme old age) and lecturing slowly enough to prevent the students taking down a farrago of nonsense.¹ The mere taking of a degree was a matter of much time and expense. The cost of Salamanca degrees was notorious. Huarte records the following dialogue between the ill-fated Prince Carlos (1545-68) and Dr. Suarez de Toledo at Alcalá : 'Wheredid you study?—Sir, at Salamanca—And are you a Doctor of Salamanca?—No, Sir—I think it very wrong to study in one University and take one's degree in another—I would have your Highness know that the expense of taking a degree at Salamanca is excessive, and the poor flee from it to cheaper places ; I consider that we do not receive skill and letters from our degree but from our work and study, and although my parents were not so poor but that I might have taken my degree there had I wished, your Highness is aware that the Doctors of Salamanca have the same privileges as the *hijosdalgo* of Spain, and those of us who are noble by birth are injured by this privilege, or at least our descendants are.'² The taking of the degree of Bachelor was a comparatively simple and inexpensive affair, without great ceremony, but it was otherwise with the degrees of Licentiate and Doctor. Luis de Leon received five hundred ducats from his father for his degrees, and Dr. Sandoval had spent the whole of his wife's dowry in obtaining his Prima Chair of Canon Law and in taking his degree.³ Owing to the great expense, the degrees of Licentiate and Doctor were not frequent at Salamanca, and

¹ Grajal 'leia muy apriesa y si le pateaban que volviese a repetir lo que habia dicho para que los oyentes las [*sic*] pudiesen escrebir decia que por mandado del Consejo no podia dictar (*Doc. inéd.* x. 56).

² J. Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de Ingenios*, cap. xvii, *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, f. lxxv, p. 479.

³ *Autobiografías y Memorias* (*Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp.*), Madrid, 1905, p. 163. No wonder that the loss of a Chair was regarded as a heavy blow. El Brocense says (*Opera*, iii. 518) that he had known professors die of grief at the loss of their Chair (yo he conocido hombres en Salamanca que perdieron la vida casi luego en perdiendo la cathedra), and Azpilcueta declares that there was no memory of any Prima Professor of Canon Law resigning his Chair except for a bishopric, 'nullus ante me nunquam auditur reliquisse' (*Vida*, p. 628). We hear of another Salamanca professor who died of grief for the loss of 500 ducats : 'le hurtaron quinientos ducados y murió a tercero dia a la hora del medio dia y los dineros parecieron a la noche' (*Obras de Doña Oliva Sabuco* (1888), p. 17).

were celebrated solemnly. A procession headed by drums and trumpets, and ending with the candidate and his 'godfather' (*padrino*), went through the streets from the candidate's house to the Schools, where the preliminary examination (*repeticiones*) was held, and to the Cathedral, where the degrees were conferred.¹ The statutes expressly forbade any addition to the ordinary adornment of curtains and carpets in the *general* of the schools and, 'in order to avoid great expense' (*los grandes gastos que se hazen*), the candidate might come accompanied by no sackbuts or clarions, but at most with six trumpets and three pairs of kettledrums.² The final examination was held in the Chapel of St. Barbara in the cloister of the Old Cathedral, and at the door of this chapel on the previous day the texts for the candidate's examination were chosen (*se le daban puntos*), the candidate choosing from a book opened in three places at random. Each examining professor received two beans or counters marked A (*Aprobado*) and R (*Reprobado*). The 'approved' candidate went out by the principal door of the Cathedral, where a richly caparisoned horse awaited him for his procession through the city; the 'reprobated' found themselves ejected through the Puerta de los Carros into an obscure side-street. As the time of the examination was long a supper was provided (in a neighbouring chapel), and it was in this and the *colaciones* served in the house from which the professors watched the bullfights held in honour of the degree, as well as in the fees given to the fifty or sixty professors who attended at the conferment of all degrees, that the principal expense consisted. In order to have a right to the *colacion* the professors were obliged to accompany the candidate to and from his house in the *paseo de la tarde*. In the case of the degree of Master in Theology the supper and other meals were substituted by a money payment, and there was no bullfight.³

¹ For curious and graphic descriptions of these processions and other customs connected with the degrees see A. Vidal, *Memoria histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca* (1869), cap. ix; Gustave Reynier, *La vie universitaire dans l'ancienne Espagne* (1902), pp. 81-93; *Estatutos* (Salamanca, 1561), tit. xxxi, *De las repeticiones*; tit. xxxii, *De los grados de licenciamiento y doctoramiento*.

² *Estatutos* (1561), tit. xxxi, §§ 6 and 7.

³ On the other hand, the *vejamen* or *gallos* at theological degrees were famous. Cf. Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo, *Diálogos de Apacible Entretenimiento*

To prevent the 'great excess and disorder' that had hitherto characterized the meal provided on the afternoon before the giving of the degree, the Statutes of 1561 decreed that this should be limited to 'six kinds of sweets and three varieties of fruits of the season'. The supper in the cloister was to consist of 'a bird, not a peacock nor a turkey, a dish of blancmange, dessert of fruit, bread and wine'. Each professor present at the examination, and to be present was one of the professors' most cherished privileges (to those absent from Salamanca a messenger had to be sent beforehand at the candidate's expense), received two gold doubloons (*doblas de cabeza o Castellanos*), a torch, a box of preserved lemon-peel, a pound of sugar-plums, and three pairs of chickens.¹ In the middle of the sixteenth century the University could boast sixty Chairs,² including ten of Canon Law, seven of Medicine, seven of Theology, eleven of Logic and Philosophy, and four of Greek, of which 'many this year' (1569), says Chacon, 'have been worth 900 ducats, others 800, others five and four hundred'.³ The salary of the principal Chairs was 200 ducats; but fees from the conferring of degrees and other sources provided a very substantial increase of income,⁴ and the proprietary Chairs received a yearly bonus (called *residuo*), the

(Barcelona, 1606), in *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, t. xxxvi, p. 285, 'he hallado que en los grados de los teólogos salmantinos por eso hay gallos porque no hay toros.' In cap. 2 examples of the *gallos* of 1600 are given. Many would have preferred the bullfights, although San Tomas de Villanueva considered them 'bestial and diabolical'.

¹ *Estatutos* (Salamanca, 1561), tit. xxxii, ff. 37-40. For degrees at Valladolid see *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, vol. i, p. lii et seq., and vol. iv, p. 285.

² Pedro Chacon, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* in *Semanario Erudito*, tom. xviii, pp. 3-67. This was written in 1569 ('quando esto se escribe'). The *setenta* (seventy) Chairs may be a misprint for *sesenta*. Simancas speaks of sixty professors in 1566.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴ For instance Luis de Leon's fees from Fray Bartolomé de Medina's degree of Master in Theology (1570) amounted to 92 reales (3128 maravedis) or a little over eight ducats, and during six months of the same year the fees due to him from theological discussions (*actos*) were 1360 maravedis or nearly four ducats. (See *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniiano*, Julio de 1916, p. 23.) This would hardly compensate for the loss of time: *actos mayores* lasted all day, *actos menores* a whole morning. Zumel as visitor of the chapel of the University receives 60 reales, 15 representing the kids due to him at Easter and 45 the Christmas chickens and partridges). See *Revista de Archivos*, p. 590.

whole surplus of the University's revenue being divided among them. This practice fostered economy, and even on occasion led to something approaching meanness in the University's accounts, although it was lavish in charity and in expenditure of other kinds.¹ The Chairs most eagerly coveted were those *de propiedad*, which the holders retained till their death, although they might retire after twenty years and as *jubilados* pay a part of their salary to a substitute. The most important Chairs in each faculty were those of *Prima*, and the lectures in these Chairs lasted one and a half hours, instead of one. The students were of all classes and ages (from fourteen to over thirty), and although many no doubt answered to Chacon's testimonial of good conduct, so that one could easily tell a Salamanca man by his manners,² others were a thorn in the side of the professors by day and of the Corregidor by night. A Chair at Salamanca in the sixteenth century was certainly no sinecure. Santa Teresa calls Fray Domingo Bañez' Chair a 'burdensome honour'.³ There was rivalry between Salamanca and Alcalá, rivalry between the University and the Colegios Mayores, rivalry between the University and the Jesuits, bitter rivalry among the Religious Orders and among individual convents, colleges, and professors, not to speak of continual questions of precedence.⁴ Charles V, during his visit in 1534, was fain, in order not to give offence, to attend eight lectures in one morning.⁵ The University

¹ Chacon (*ibid.*, p. 36) says that the funeral honours for Prince Carlos and Queen Isabel in 1568 cost the University over 3,000 ducats. A quarter of a century earlier Vitoria protested against the excessive expenditure for the wedding of Philip II, estimated at 2,000 ducats (Fray Luis G. A. Getino, *El Maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria* (1914), p. 84). The amount annually distributed in charity at Salamanca was very large. The Convent of San Esteban alone is said to have given to the poor two bushels of wheat daily.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36: 'toda la buena conciencia, comedimiento, llaneza y buen trato que se puede desear . . . desde muy lexos se conoce el que se ha criado en aqueste Estudio.' He says that in 1569 600 students of Salamanca entered some of the strictest and principal Religious Orders.

³ Letter to D. Ana Henriquez (March 4, 1581): 'trabajo no le faltará en ella, que honra harto costosa es.'

⁴ As in May, 1582, between the Masters in Theology (Luis de Leon and Zumel) and the Masters in Medicine, or in 1565 between the bishops at the Salamanca Conference.

⁵ 'El viernes siguiente fué su Magestad a las Escuelas . . . y fué a oir al Doctor Montoya . . . Doctor Navarro . . . Doctor Montemayor . . . Fray Francisco de Vitoria . . . Maestro Siliceo . . . Doctor Gonzalo H. . .

was jealous of its authority, and, although in the reign of King Philip its independence was diminishing, it would from time to time refuse a request made to it in the King's name. The Religious Orders were one of the mainstays of the University, which nevertheless stipulated that it should be treated by the Generals of the Orders in the same way as the Universities of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Toulouse.¹ Until the middle of the sixteenth century the Dominicans had monopolized the Chairs of Theology at the University, the Augustinians Juan de Guevara and Luis de Leon being the first (in 1565) to wrest this monopoly from them, a fact which explains Luis de Leon's statement² that he was the principal obstacle in the path of the Dominican Order in the elections. All these rivalries were rendered more significant and dangerous by the character of the times. In 1558 a royal decree ordered an inquiry as to the existence of heretical books on Lutheran doctrines at the University. Those who clung to the letter of scholasticism were now confronted by men of a more liberal spirit, while in biblical exegesis fierce war raged between those who believed in the verbal inspiration of the Vulgate and those who admitted various interpretations and who went to the Hebrew text, between tradition and philology. That the University was not illiberal is shown by the fact that Copernicus figured early among its text-books,³ while in 1570 it resolved to revise and modernize the teaching of the Chair of Scotus,⁴ and in 1582 allowed El Brocense to challenge the supremacy of 'Antonio' by using his own Latin Grammar in the Schools. But opinions were held in uncompromising fashion and personalities were strongly marked. We were all as it were at war, said Luis de Leon.⁵

Doctor Tapia . . . Doctor San Isidro,' ap. Getino, *El Maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria*, p. 90.

¹ *Constituciones . . . Salmanticensis Academiae*, Salmanticae, 1562, f. 22 v.

² *Doc. inéd.* xi. 42: 'soy el mayor impedimento que tiene en sus pretensiones de catedras.'

³ *Estatutos* (1561), f. 25 v.: 'En la Cathedra de Astrologia el primer año se lea en los ocho meses Esphera y Theoricas de planetas y vnas tablas, en la substitution [*sic*] astrolabio. El segundo año, seys libros de Euclides y Arithmetica, hasta las raizes quadradas y cubicas, y el almagesto de Ptolomeo [*sic*] o su epitome de monte regio, o Geber, o Copernico, al voto de los oyentes, en la substitution [*sic*] la Esphera.'

⁴ Getino, *Vida y Procesos*, p. 159. (Aug. 16, 1570.)

⁵ *Doc. inéd.* x. 129: 'todos vivíamos como en guerra por razon de las preten-

The Inquisition, established at Valladolid, had a Commissary at Salamanca and received regular reports, while the Dominicans, closely connected with the Inquisition, welcomed the information of students, who plied the hapless professors with questions which they were obliged to answer during not less than one half-hour. Constituents harassing a modern Member of Parliament with letters are not more insistent. The Statutes forbade professors to answer such *cédulas* during a lecture,¹ but before and after they were at the mercy of their assailants. His lecture over, the professor stood at a column in the Schools and responded to all doubts and inquiries. The Flemish scholar Clenardus found it very unpleasant to be compelled to answer seriously the most impertinent questions of the most doltish of students,² but the custom had its advantages as well as its drawbacks.³ This

siones y competencias, y por la misma causa todos teníamos enemigos.' There were 'alborotos de estudiantes' (ibid. x. 223). He also refers to the heat of the public discussions in the University (ibid. x. 481). But these were only passing storms, and in 1570 Dr. Francisco Sancho can speak of 'la buena y dulce conversacion y comunicacion de todos esos señores' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 468). It is true that he was in Madrid when he wrote thus.

¹ *Estatutos* (1561), f. 28 v.

² *Nicolai Clenardi Epistolarum libri duo* (Hanoviae, 1606): 'Illic [at Salamanca] luce vivendum erat et cum multis aut simulanda aut ineunda quotidiana ista et vulgaris amicitia quae mutuis salutationibus constat quaeque, ut semel aperto capite conciliatur, ita contra si secus obviam minus observes in perpetuum dissolvitur . . . Erat et aliud quod receptum est in his regionibus et inter Italos quoque obtinet: statim peracta lectione professores tanquam oracula quaedam a quovis adeuntur et quicquid illud tandem fuerit quod arcadico juveni in mentem et buccam venerit nisi clementer praeceptor excipias et tanquam de re seria cum homine verba facias, negligere videris dominum tuum, et, si postea cathedra quaequam vacaverit ulciscitur miser in turba, quem solum non timeas, fraudaberis multis suffragiis nec quicquam insignis tibi profuerit eruditio.' Letter from Evora, March 26, 1535. Of the professor in this ordeal he says 'in medio conficitur miser saepe maiore molestia quam in ipsa docendi hora.' Luis de Leon must often have felt a similar impatience as some witless Rodriguez, the Subtle Doctor or *dunce* Scotus, waited at the lecture-room door to harass him with silly questions. (*Doc. inéd.* x. 19 ad fin. Cf. x. 228: 'Cada día estudiantes y otras personas me preguntaban un millar de cosas.') Some of El Brocense's most daring remarks were made as quick answers to importunate *cédulas*.

³ Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de Ingenios* (1566), cap. 3 (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. lxxv, p. 417). 'Estos tales mucho más enseñan al maestro en cabo del año que el maestro a ellos, dudando y preguntando agudamente le hacen saber y responder cosas tan delicadas que jamas las supo ni supiera si el discípulo con la felicidad de su ingenio no se las apuntara; pero los que esto pueden hacer son unos o dos, cuando mucho, y los rudos son infinitos'; and ibid., p. 411: 'Otros ingenios rudos y torpes hay que, viendo que los muy ingeniosos son tenidos en mucho por las dificultades y argumentos que ponen

democratic practice was due to the fact that the professors were appointed by the votes of the students. This popular election was not so bad a farce as the universal suffrage of modern parliamentary elections, quality was ingeniously consulted as well as quantity, and the vote of a fifth-year man was worth five times as much as that of a student who had but recently matriculated. Each elector had a personal vote, and an additional vote for each year of lectures he had attended up to seven years. One is often struck by the keenness and dignity of the students, their real zeal for knowledge, interest in theological doctrines and anxiety for the purity of the faith,¹ while the professors, with their fierce contests and antipathies, their sensitive vanity, the pomp and feasts of degree days and other ceremonies, their perpetual fees and fines, seem nearer the age of children. But the students took a human delight in the feuds of the professors, and were perfectly aware that they were masters of the situation:

En Salamanca, Señor,
Son mozos, gastan humor,
Hace cada cual su gusto.²

The Portuguese humanist, Diogo de Teive, although in one of his poems he paid a noble tribute to Salamanca,³ declared that there were too many distractions.⁴ Carnival, one may be sure, was

al maestro, en saliendo de lección (a imitación suya) procuran molestar con grandes impertinencias al que los enseña.

¹ These would, however, scarcely constitute a majority. The testimonial of Chacon already quoted may be corrected by the less favourable accounts of other writers. Cf. *La Tía Fingida*: 'gente intrincada, versada en bellacuerías y diabluras . . . gente moza, antojadiza, arrojada, libre, aficionada, gastadora, discreta, diabólica y de humor'; Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, i. 541: 'en medio de los estudiantes trabiesos de Salamanca fué recogido y honestísimo.' If there was war between the professors there was a good deal of guerrilla fighting in less exalted spheres, and the *confitero* in his shop behind his cases of raisins and spices must sleep with one eye open in fear of 'estudiantes y pícaros, que es todo uno' (Quevedo, *El Buscón*, see *Obras* (1713), Pt. I, pp. 83-5), while the freshman (*novato*) was the butt of every jest and practical joke (*ibid.*, pp. 76-80; Espinel, *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, Rel. I. Descanso décimo ad init., &c., &c.).

² Ruiz de Alarcón, *La Verdad Sospechosa*, Act I, sc. ii.

³ *Jacobi Tevii Bracharensis Opuscula* (Parisii, 1762), p. 314:

Nobilumque altrix Salmantica clara virorum.

(*Epistola ad Andream Noronam*.)

⁴ 'nam me achava bem na terra, e avia nella muitos jogos e passatempos que distrahiã os estudos, e tambem por nam aver senam muy poucos que sabiã

not the only uproarious time at the great University.¹ For some weeks after an important Chair had been pronounced vacant the life of the University was in turmoil, and the *apasionados* of the rival candidates and the professional canvassers (*catedreros*) went about the streets.² Although some of the evils of a democracy were undoubtedly felt at Salamanca, in the disquiet which perturbed Clenardus and Vasaeus, in the envy which attached to some of the best men, there was at least no deliberate cult of incompetence; witness the names of the men who filled the principal Chairs during the sixteenth century. That there were abuses in the elections the extraordinary minuteness of the Statutes on this subject is sufficient to prove. As soon as a Chair was vacant the fact must be announced in the Schools, the announcement to be repeated at least once a week during a month if the Chair was one of the principal ones of the University. The candidates meanwhile were forbidden to go out of doors except to mass or to lecture in the Schools. They might not suffer any student with a vote to enter the house in which they lived, nor to speak to them at door or window. They must not seek the support of any person, lay or ecclesiastic, in the city or outside. They must not give money nor food nor any meal (*comida, colacion, or almuerzo*), nor corn nor wine, nor lend books, promise lectures, or provide windows from which to watch *fiestas*. Any member of the University who had publicly or privately advocated the cause of a candidate, or in any way practised bribery or corruption,³ was liable to

latim', ap. Theophilo Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. i, p. 541.

¹ Cf. Hidalgo, *op. cit.*, p. 281: 'En Universidades, donde las Carnestolendas son tanto mayores y mejores cuanto la gente que trata en escuelas es más ocasionada y apercibida para todo género de holgura.' For a curious account of the students' procession in Holy Week see P. U. González de la Calle, *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (1923), p. 129.

² On the occasion of a *gran revolucion* in connexion with a vacant Chair some one suggested to Santa Teresa that the canvassing by monks was excessive (*diligencia demasiada: a ellos los habian de rogar*); to which the Saint is said to have answered: 'No es ya ese tiempo y así es muy lícito hacer esto, que si supiesedes lo que importa que en la Iglesia de Dios enseñen personas tales no lo diríades.'

³ At the end of the sixteenth century this continued unchecked in spite of all the statutes. At Valladolid in 1594 a Chair worth 600 ducats fell vacant, and bribery was so rife that a royal decree ordered an inquiry. One candidate was said to have spent 1,500 ducats, his agent going round with a bag of

four days' imprisonment; if he gave a dinner in his favour he incurred ten days' imprisonment. On the day before the *lección de oposición* a book was opened in the presence of the Rector in three places, and three texts chosen by the Rector were submitted to the candidate. In the case of theologians the text might be chosen by the candidate himself from one of the three places at which the book was opened. This ceremony was known as 'tomar puntos'. On the following day the candidate made his only election speech, and while the votes were being taken he might stand at the door of the cloister, while the electors were examined on oath as to whether they had transgressed any of the statutes concerning elections. Voting was secret, and any elector who declared how he intended to vote *ipso facto* lost his vote, the same penalty applying to any one who had called a meeting of students in a candidate's favour, or had made a bet as to which candidate would win the Chair, or had, by stamping of feet or otherwise, interrupted the lectures of a rival candidate, while improperly marked votes were cancelled in the scrutiny. If any voter voluntarily or maliciously forfeited his right to vote he must pay a fine of twelve ducats and go to prison for ten days, and if he attempted to render any other elector incapable of voting he incurred a fine of twelve ducats and twenty days' imprisonment. No one who might be suspected of having an interest in the Chair was to be allowed in the Schools while it was vacant. Votes could be given only in the cloister of the ducats and doubloons, while the students bargained over the price of their vote (J. M. Gz. de Echávarri, *La Justicia y Felipe II* (Valladolid, 1917), pp. 21-3. The guileless Azpilcueta, having left Salamanca for Coimbra in 1538, is outspoken in condemnation of the practice of election of professors by votes of the students. The most learned foreigner can never be elected to a Chair, he says, and the students 'desde niños se avezan a ser injustos'. 'Quasi ninguna Cathedra de propiedad vaca en Salamanca sobre la qual el Demonio no tenga un millon de peccados mortales de censo por lo menos, contando los malos y deliberados desseos con los malos dichos y hechos de los oppositores y de sus amigos, con los perjuicios y encorrimientos de descomuniones. A quarum horrendo timore quia me, Domine Jesu, liberasti gratias immortales tibi ago jamque te iuvante in aeternum. Amen.' Arigita, *Vida*, pp. 158-60. In 1605 various professors of Salamanca were of opinion that 'importa la continuacion y forma de pretensiones y competencias que en ella hay tanto que a esto y no a otra cosa se atribuyen los grandes sujetos que en ella ha habido.' (Fray Guillermo Vázquez Núñez, *El Padre Francisco Zumel*, in *Revista de Archivos*, July-Dec. 1918, p. 248.) Cf. Luis de Leon, *Opera* vii. 37: '. . . illis ita misere servias ut illorum favoris colligendi cura vel causa nihil, quamvis turpe atque vile, tibi non faciendum atque subeundum putes'.

Schools, but students in prison might be brought there on bail or accompanied by an *alguazil*. On the other hand a member of a convent or college who had been absent from Salamanca for six months, counting from a fortnight before the Chair fell vacant, lost his vote, even if he were present on election day. The votes were recorded on slips of the thickest of paper, provided by the candidates, four inches broad; each paper must be folded, initialled (or rather *rubricado*) by the *escribano*, and given to the Rector, who threw it into one of the jars (*cántaros*), which were presently locked and placed in a locked chest. When the voting was over, the *cántaros* were brought out and surrounded by the Rector and the *Consiliarios*, to some or all of whom (according to the number of candidates) the Rector gave a needle and thread on which to string the votes of each candidate. The professors thus standing with their needles ready, the Rector then, after the secretary had testified that the *cántaro* was locked, proceeded to open it, and took out the votes a handful at a time to be threaded, after which the Rector held one end of the thread and the secretary the other, while the latter twice counted the threaded papers. The most complicated part was still to come, for when the number of persons who had voted had been counted they must be reduced to *corsos*, that is to the number of terms and therefore of votes which each person represented. The fees paid by the candidates varied from four ducats to the Rector and two to each *Consiliario* for the principal Chairs to twelve and six *reales* respectively for the *catedrillas*. The successful candidate must pay into the University chest a sum varying according to the importance of his Chair (twelve ducats for the Prime Chair of Canon Law, eight for the Prime Chair of Theology, six for the Vespers Chair of Theology). The triumph of the successful candidate was great, even as the struggle had been bitter. The Statutes forbade him to rejoice in the streets by night with torches under pain of a fine of 5,000 *maravedis* (13½ ducats) and confiscation of the torches, and he might give only one banquet, to be held on the very day of his success, and that only if he had won a Prime Chair. Salamanca in the sixteenth century was not a peaceful city¹ (although the

¹ Cervantes says it was: 'como le fatigasen deseos de volver a sus estudios

uproar was confined to the Schools and squares and main streets, and most of its houses must have been silent enough), but it had 'fermosas salidas' such as Alfonso the Learned required for a University town. El Brocense might snatch an hour from his busy days to wander along the *dulcia prata* of the River Tormes, and when the heat became oppressive towards the end of the academic year (on September 8) Rector and Maestrescuela with a merry company might saunter out of the sun-baked city to some garden of delicious shade or cool village in the neighbourhood.¹ In the summer nights, when the disputes in the Schools were hushed, and the constant turmoil of Salamanca's daily life had subsided, when the *pupileros* had locked their doors and only the grave Corregidor with his satellite *corchetes* went his rounds in the deserted streets, silent but for a serenade by 'escolares que andan nocherniegos' or a clash of swords here and there along the massive walls,² a group of priests and professors would sit out after the heat of the day in the court of the Cathedral and discuss all things in heaven and earth. The glittering sky of stars naturally turned their eyes and thoughts to the heavens, to talk of signs and portents and eclipses, and one of them, El Brocense, would even go so far as to assert that

y a Salamanca (que enhechiza la voluntad de volver a ella a todos los que de la apacibilidad de su vivienda han gustado' (*El Licenciado Vidriera*).

¹ Cristobal de Villalon, *El Scholasticon* [c. 1525], vol. 1 in *Bibliófilos Madrileños*, tom. v (1911), p. 24: 'Venido el estío, en el qual en alguna manera afloxan las leturas y estudio por causa del gran calor, exercitanse en virtuosos pasatiempos todos aquellos señores en compañía unos de otros. Acostumbran, por recrear el spiritu y sacarle a espaciarse, de salirse por las aldeas cercanas o huertas deleytosas que la ciudad tiene al rededor de sy, y por mejor se festejar inventan pasatiempos y juegos honestos para su recreacion. Pues el nuestro muy magnifico Rettor acordó en este tiempo de hacer una fiesta a todos sus señores y amigos, la qual todos por le complazer quisieron aceptar. Señalado el lugar, un aldea muy fresca que estava ay cerca en la ribera de Tormes, y venido el dia diputado, el señor Maestre Escuela y todos los señores que propuse se juntaron para yr con el Señor Rettor. Pues juntos todos aquellos señores en casa del Rettor salieron con mucho plazer por la puerta de la ciudad, y yendo su camino, dixo el Maestre Escuela: "Señores, mucha razon es que ordenemos nuestro pasatiempo en algun genero de plazer porque el camino sea menos sentido de aqui al aldea y nosotros nos podamos mejor solazar." Dixo el Rettor: "Muy bien será, y si os parece sea en nobelas y cuentos graciosos, los quales sean adornados con el buen dezir para nuestra recreacion, y damos facultad para que cada uno narre qualquiera fabula o acontecimiento o sueño o fascencia que mas dulce le pareciere.'"

² Cervantes (si scripsit), *La Tía Fingida*.

there was no reason why an art of flying should not be invented for men.¹ Not many hundred yards away, in his silent convent,² gazing, but alone, at the same stars, a friar, the day's boisterous discussions of lecture-room and council-chamber ended, after the last troublesome student or friar had left his cell, sat brooding within 'el alcazar del alma' over the yet more sublime flights of the spirit, and the ultimate nature and origin of all things. The influences of the stars rained down peace and strength on his troubled spirit, as night after night in the cloudless summer months they passed in marvellous procession above the sleeping city. And he would interrupt his studies, prolonged far into the night, to write down the verses that flowed up out of his previous train of thought:

El hombre está entregado
Al sueño, de su suerte no cuidando,
Y con paso callado
El cielo, vueltas dando,
Las horas del vivir le va hurtando.

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, t. ii, pp. 98 and 105.

² The Augustinian Convent of San Pedro, of which no vestige now remains, stood in a convenient position (about where is now the Plazuela de Fray Luis de Leon) between the Colegio Mayor de Oviedo and the University, and not far from the Puerta del Rio and the Roman bridge across the Tormes.

IV

Childhood (1527-43)

'Ο δὲ καλὸν τι νέον
 ἀβρότατος ἐπι
 ξ' ἐλπιδ
 ροισ ἀνορεαις, εχ
 κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν.

PINDAR.

Pero sopló a deshora un manso viento
 Del Espíritu eterno, y enviando
 Un aire dulce al alma fué llevando
 La espesa niebla que la luz cubría,
 Dándole un claro y muy sereno día.

LUIS DE LEON.

ISOLATED in a bleak upland some two thousand feet above sea-level, the little town of Belmonte has an old-world air. Its peace is interrupted at most by the arrival of the *diligencia* from Cuenca or Socuéllamos, or of the slow awning-covered mule-carts which come up from distant villages to the primitive market in an irregular cobbled square. The life of the town can have changed little since the sixteenth century. Some of the streets have pillared arcades, here and there a house of massive stone preserves its ancient coat of arms. Clumps of tufted pines about the castle outside the walls of the town, a rare vineyard, a few almond-trees or evergreen oaks, are the only green after the wheat has been gathered in, and the plain appears coloured in patches like bricks in various stages of baking, from calcareous white to glaring rusty-red. Narrow white roads stretch away in long straight lines, treeless and hedgeless, through the treeless, undivided plain, across which is seen for many leagues the square tower of the collegiate church of Belmonte and the dark mass of its magnificent castle. Even on the hottest day of summer a subtle cooling wind blows through the cloudless air

dó en el día más sereno
 no es enojoso el estío.

The clean thin air, the luminous clearness, the wide horizons, the immensity of the undulating brick-coloured plain, softly enveloped by the turquoise sky, give an impression of peace and harmony, and of austerity and even harshness, of something mordantly keen and acrid, and of infinite longings for what Santa Teresa called the *allá*, the beyond. The inhabitants of the town, hospitable, courteous and independent, have a strongly marked character. La Mancha,¹ to the east of New Castille, produces a keen, energetic, tenacious race, *gente avalentonada*,² of which Don Quixote himself was so chivalrous an example. They can combine a Castilian chivalry towards the weak with a hatred of injustice and a vehemence which is almost Valencian. A foreigner well acquainted with Spain, when asked how he would distinguish the inhabitants of Cuenca from those of other Castilians, answered without an instant's hesitation that he considered them 'a little fiercer'. Unwavering directness, concentrated energy, boldness of thought piercing to the very root of a matter, have characterized many gentlemen and scholars born at Cuenca, some twelve leagues to the north-east of Belmonte. Some of the earliest Spanish Protestants, including the learned and eloquent Canon of Seville, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, were *conquenses*, as were Alonso de Valdés, devoted friend of Erasmus, and his brother, the humanist Juan de Valdés, for whom, in 1638, George Herbert expressed admiration, and the Protestant Juan Diaz, stabbed to death by his own brother. Indeed religious disputes at Cuenca had a peculiar bitterness. To Cuenca belonged the celebrated Jesuit, Luis de Molina (1535-1600),³ whose outspoken views on freewill provoked so great a controversy, and the fervent Melchor Cano was born at neighbouring Tarancón. The best-known native of Bel-

¹ Belmonte is in La Mancha de Monte Aragon, also known as Mancha Alta and Mancha de Aragon. The importance of the town is shown by its population in 1587: a thousand householders. See *Censo de poblacion de las provincias y partidos de la Corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1829), p. 245: 'Belmonte, 1,000 vecinos.' Nicolás Antonio calls it 'locus dives atque amplius' (*Bib. Nova*, i. 510).

² *La Tía Fingida*.

³ A different contemporary Andalusian Luis de Molina was nephew of Ambrosio de Morales and author of a work entitled *De Hispanorum primogeniorum origine-ac natura*.

monte itself before the sixteenth century was the Constable of Castille, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo.¹ The Jesuit Gabriel Vazquez (1550-1604) was also born there (Antonio speaks of his *acerrimum ingenium*) as well as the Augustinian Luis de Montoya. At the end of the fourteenth century (1398) the town was bestowed by Enrique III of Castille on a Portuguese, João Fernandez Pacheco.² His grandson Juan Pacheco became a favourite of Juan II,³ and one of the most powerful men of the time in Spain. He was created Marqués de Villena in 1445, and Duque de Escalona twenty-two years later. Like so many of the great families of Spain and Portugal, the Pachecos had Jewish blood in their veins, and the name of Juan Pacheco occurs on almost every other page of the *Tizon de la Nobleza Española*, attributed to Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza when Bishop of Burgos. The Pachecos were connected by marriage with the Portocarreros (of Galician origin), the Dukes of Maceda, and many other of the noblest families of Spain. It was the first Marqués de Villena who in the middle of the fifteenth century built the noble castle at Belmonte, which with its turrets of grey and reddish stone still stands so proudly on its far-seen hill, and entrusted it to the keeping of Alvar Fernandez de Leon, who seems to have claimed noble descent from the region of 'La Montaña'.⁴ Of his five sons, Lope de Leon married Leonor de Villanueva. Their son Gomez de Leon⁵ was a well-known

¹ For his life see the *Relacion de los fechos*, etc., published at Madrid in 1855.

² No doubt a descendant of Fernan Rodriguez Pacheco, loyal adherent of Afonso III, the dethroned Portuguese king who died at Toledo in 1246.

³ In 1442 Fernan Gomez writes to the Bishop of Orense that 'ca se le va metiendo Juan Pacheco fasta el corazon' (*Centon Epistolario*, no. xci, *ap. Epistolario Español* (Bib. Aut. Esp.), t. i (Madrid, 1850), p. 30.)

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 164: 'Alvar Fernandez de Leon, que oyó decir era hidalgo de la montaña'; *ibid.*, x. 386: 'el padre de este [Lope de Leon] y visaguelo mio se llamó Pero Fernandez de Leon, que le trujo el primer Señor de Belmonte consigo a aquel lugar y fué alcaide en la fortaleza dél todo el tiempo que vivió' [Luis de Leon, May 14, 1573]. Mendez (*Vida*, iii. 126) makes Fernandez Pacheco and Fernandez de Leon cousins.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 180: 'Gomez de Leon, natural de la villa de Belmonte, que vivía de su hacienda.' Cf. x. 154 and 172. The name was common and carried no indication of place. In the first third of the sixteenth century we have a 'Gomez de Leon, vecino de Logroño' (*Crónica de Don Francesillo Zúñiga*, cap. 49 in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, t. xxxvi, p. 36); and Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga in *Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de . . . Sevilla* (Madrid, 1677) mentions a Gomez de Leon in Andalucía, 'Abogado en esta real audiencia'

figure in the town, where he might be seen riding out on a white horse to visit his vines. He married Leonor de Tapia, and of their children, Lope de Leon married Inés de Varela, daughter of Juan de Varela—the correct form seems to have been Varela, not Valera—of Belmonte. Her father was of the King's body-guard, a *continuo* whose duties entailed residence at Court.¹ One of her brothers, Francisco de Varela, was chamberlain to the Duke of Maceda; ² another, Bernardino de Varela, was of the household of the Conde de Miranda and became Alcaide of the famous town of Palos; a third, Cristobal de Alarcon, had fought as a Captain in Italy, and another, Juan de Varela, was Canon of the Collegiate Church of Belmonte.³ Luis de Leon's uncles on his father's side were also distinguished: Francisco de Leon became Prime Professor of Canon Law at Salamanca, Antonio de Leon (like Luis de Leon's father) became a very distinguished lawyer (*abogado*) at Court,⁴ and Luis became Treasurer of the Collegiate Church at Belmonte.⁵ Here in August 1527 was born the eldest son of Lope de Leon and Inés de Varela, destined to bring an undying fame to the little town. He always looked upon it

(p. 588). This must be the Gomez de Leon Hispalensis who published a book on law in 1564 (Antonio, *Bib. Nova*, I. 541).

¹ 'i continui hanno obbligo di abitar tre leghe vicino alla corte' (Report of Venetian ambassador, 1573).

² A few years before Luis de Leon's birth the Dukes of Escalona and Maceda had proceeded together to Toledo to pacify the town in the Comunidades War; cf. J. Ginés de Sepúlveda, *De Rebus Gestis Caroli V*, lib. iv, § 13: 'Jacobus Lupus Pachecus Scalona Princeps qui Villenae Marchio inani titulo dicebatur, &c.' The Duke of Escalona had no right to the title of Marqués de Villena since Ferdinand and Isabella had incorporated it in the Crown. (Yet Cisneros in a letter of January 13, 1517, recognizes the title.)

³ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 181.

⁴ In 1569 he was living in the Calle de la Cruz. Of his influence (cf. also *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 5, 17, 24; x. 484) we may form an idea from the fact that Luis de Leon feared that the enmities incurred by his uncle in the exercise of his profession might injure him in his trial, and from the letter of Santa Teresa (December 3, 1579) to Antonio's daughter Isabel de Osorio, suggesting that she should stay on for some days at Madrid before becoming a Carmelite nun, as she could help greatly (*puede ayudar mucho en eso*) in founding the new convent there *con renta* (as Quiroga had stipulated). The saint wrote to her also on November 19, 1579, and on April 8, 1580, two days before another niece of Luis de Leon, her sister Inés de Osorio, took the veil at Toledo (where she died in 1635).

⁵ Of their sisters Luisa de Leon married (a) Licenciado Figueroa, (b) Garcia Romero, and Leonor de Tapia married Licenciado Cespedes, described as of Belmonte (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 173) and Socuélamos (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 181).

affectionately as his home and returned to it as often as his many occupations permitted.¹ There he might be sure of peace and respect, without the opposition which so often embittered his days elsewhere, and his heart must have leapt up when its castle and church-tower appeared to him as he rode slowly towards it across the plain. No trace of the house in which he was born remains, but tradition places it in a short street opposite the convent of the Franciscanas.² One comes nearer to Luis de Leon in the Collegiate Church which dates from the fifteenth century as rebuilt by the Marqués de Villena, with its fine screens (*rejas*), the pavement crowded with ancient tombstones (that of Pedro de Pozo at the entrance bears the date 1537), and the monument to Gomez de Leon and Leonor de Tapia, erected by his uncle and namesake, the Treasurer Luis de Leon, in 1570.³ To the Leon family the fly in the ointment were the two *sambenitos*—of Leonor de Villanueva and Juana Rodriguez—hung in the church by order of the Inquisition in 1548. Luis de Leon's great-grandmother and her sister had been 'reconciled' in an *auto de fé* at Cuenca (April 18, 1512).⁴ Their *sambenitos* were hung at first in Cuenca Cathedral, but a decree of 1529 ordered them to be removed to Belmonte. For nineteen years the influence of the Leon family succeeded in preventing this order from being carried out, but they seem to have been unable to resist the sterner

¹ He seems to have paid a last visit to Belmonte a few months before his death. See *Archivo Histórico*, Abril de 1918, p. 265 : 'yten si saben que desde el día de S. Lucas [Oct. 18, 1590] hasta 16 de Julio de este año [1591] ha hecho el dicho maestro Fr. Luis muchos caminos y estado en Salamanca, Madrigal, Valladolid, Toledo, Belmonte y en otras partes.'

² In 1922 the street had no official name, but the name 'Fray Luis de Leon' was written in red paint on the wall.

³ ESTA OBRA MADO AZER EL MUI MAGNIFICO MUI REVERENDO SEÑOR LUIS DE LEON TESORERO DE LA COLEGIATA IGLESIA DE ESTA VILLA DE BELMONTE EN ESTE ARCO I ENTERRAMIENTO DE LOS MUY MAGNIFICOS SEÑORES GOMEZ DE LEON I LEON[®] I TAPIA PADRES DEL DICHO SEÑOR TESORERO . 1570. It is fitting that a lion should figure prominently above the entrance doors of this church. One wonders whether the Canónigo Leon mentioned as early as 1425 was an ancestor of Luis de Leon. The Padre Maestro Fray Pablo de Leon, who much later founded a convent at Oviedo, must certainly have been a relation, since 'pidió limosnas para la fábrica y labor de la casa a los excelentísimos Marqueses de Villena'. (Fray Justo Cuervo, *Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*, vol. i (1914), p. 37.) Perhaps also the Segovian poet Frutos de Leon Tapia (1588-1626).

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 161.

times inaugurated in 1546 with the *Estatutos de limpieza*, and in 1548 the *sambenitos* were duly hung in the Collegiate Church of Belmonte.¹ There appears no reason to doubt that the Jewess Leonor de Villanueva was really Luis de Leon's great-grandmother and not merely the second wife of his great-grandfather, Lope de Leon—she herself declared that Lope had only married once²—and one can only account for Luis de Leon's denial that any of his ancestors had been 'reconciled' by ignorance or by the supposition that he was alluding to the male line only.³ Others of the family had come into trouble with the Holy Office, and one of them, Gomez Fernandez de Leon, at the age of 100, when Luis de Leon was two years old, in 1529, had been fined for speaking ill of the Holy Office,⁴ possibly on occasion of the order to transfer the *sambenitos* from Cuenca to Belmonte.

Luis de Leon was one of six children. His brothers Cristobal and Miguel both became *veinticuatro*s of Granada. (On both of these their father entailed an estate.) Another, Antonio, was a priest, but died young. One sister, Mencía de Tapia, was married to Francisco de Avalos, of Hellin, the other, Maria de Alarcon, married Dr. Diego Lopez de Jaramillo.⁵ The exact date of the birth of Luis has been much discussed; recent criticism, on somewhat doubtful grounds, has inclined to the year 1528. His epitaph, copied by Herrera⁶ in the seventeenth century, says that he died on August 23, 1591, at the age of sixty-four.

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 169. During the sixteenth century the 'New Christians' offered the Government large sums for permission to remove the *sambenitos*.

² *Doc. inéd.*, x. 153 (quella no tuvo otro marido ni él otra muger).

³ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 386: 'Y no se hallará en memoria de hombres ni de [*sic*] escrituras ciertas que nombrada y señaladamente alguno de todos mis antecesores se haya convertido a la fe de nuevo.' *Convertido de nuevo* means simply 'a New Christian'. It is impossible to believe that Luis de Leon had not heard of the *auto de fé* of 1512 and the order of 1529, but he had just been speaking of Gomez, Lope, and others of the male line of his ancestry.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 163, 165: 'fue condenado a que saliese en penitencia a la iglesia colegial de Belmonte y en cierta pena pecuniaria por haber dicho palabras contra el honor y autoridad del Santo oficio y oficiales dél.'

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 181-2, 173; xi. 5-24.

⁶ Tomás Herrera, *Historia del Convento de San Augustin de Salamanca*, p. 393: 'obiit an. MDXCI XXIII AUGUSTI. AET. LXIV.' For the complete inscription see Fray Francisco Blanco García, *Fr. Luis de León* (1904), p. 254; Mendez, *Vida*, ap. *Revista Agustiniana*, i. 352; González de Tejada, *Vida*, p. 69; Reusch, *Fr. Luis de Leon und die Spanische Inquisition*, p. 117. Arango, *Frai Luis de León*, &c. (1866), p. 250, quotes it wrongly as AET. LXIII.

It is unnecessary to take this as meaning that he died in his sixty-fourth year. He must have been born between August 24, 1526, and August 23, 1527. If we narrow this to April 15-August 23, 1527, it agrees with the age given by Luis de Leon in his trial.¹ Difficulties have been raised because he says that he went to Salamanca at the age of fourteen and four or five months later entered the Augustinian Convent there as a novice, and we know that he professed on January 29, 1544. Elsewhere he repeats that he took the habit of St. Augustine at the age of fourteen.² What appears to have happened is that when his father was appointed judge at Granada in 1541, instead of taking the young Luis south with him, he sent him to Salamanca to the care of his uncle Francisco de Leon, Professor of Law (*Digesto Viejo*), either at the beginning of term in that year (October 1541) or in the following summer (August 1542), and four or five months later he gave up the study of Canon Law to enter the Order of St. Augustine. But whether we extend his novitiate over one year (January 1543-January 1544) or twenty-two months (from March 1542),³ we must accept the statement

¹ On April 15, 1572, he says (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 180) that he is forty-four 'more or less' [he would be forty-five next August]. Ten years later his memory had grown weaker, for on March 8, 1582, before the Inquisition, he gives his age as fifty-three more or less, but in any case such statements of age in the sixteenth century are not precisely reliable. The usual phrase *poco más o menos* might mean a year or two or it might mean ten days. Orozco when in his fifty-eighth year gives his age to the Inquisitors as 'fifty more or less' (*Procesos de Protestantes Españoles en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1910), p. 16).

² Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 182: 'Dijo que nació este declarante en la villa de Belmonte, adonde se crió hasta edad de cinco o seis años, y desta edad le llevaron a Madrid, donde estaba la corte, y en ella se crió en casa de su padre que era entonces abogado de corte, y en esta villa [Valladolid] cuando la corte se pasó a ella, hasta que tuvo edad de catorce años. Y desta edad su padre le envió desta villa a estudiar a Salamanca Canones; y dende a cuatro o cinco meses como llegó allí tomó el hábito de Sant Agustín en el monesterio desta orden de la dicha ciudad'; *ibid.*: 'se metió fraile de catorce años'; x. 257: 'desde el año catorce de mi edad, que es desde que tengo entendimiento y razon, soy fraile'; x. 386: 'yo tomé el hábito de religioso que tengo de 14 años de mi edad'; in xi. 267, however, he varies the phrase: 'si saben que el maestro Fray Luis tomó el hábito de la orden de S. Agustín de edad de catorce años o mas, y ha que es fraile treinta años' [July 24, 1572]. The Augustinian Fray Luis de Toledo says that he has known him for over thirty years in August 1572 (xi. 284), and another, Fray Hernando de Peralta, had known him for some thirty years (*habrá treinta años*) in July 1572 (*ibid.*, p. 283).

³ The age for novices (sixteen) and duration of their novitiate (one year) were not fixed before the Council of Trent.

of his epitaph (that he was sixty-four in August 1591), and his own statement that he was born in the month of August. In his poem *Del conocimiento de si mismo* occur the lines

volviendo ya con curso presuroso
el sexto signo el estrellado cielo
. . . sacóme a la luz de aqueste suelo.¹

In other words: 'I was born in August (*mense sextili*) on the day sacred to the Virgin (August 15)'. The association of the pagan sign of the zodiac, Virgo, with the Virgin Mary is thoroughly in keeping with Renaissance style. In another poem he says 'Nací para ser tuyo';² and his birth in August explains his early devotion to the Virgin. What we know of Luis de Leon's first years is little enough. He remained at Belmonte until the age of five or six, and had already begun to learn reading and singing there with a master of the name of Ramirez,³ when (in the spring of 1533?)⁴ he accompanied his father to Madrid, and subsequently to Valladolid. Lope de Leon soon made his way as an advocate at Court. He had character,⁵ ability, and influence, and in 1541 he received the very important appointment of Oidor at the Chancellery of Granada.⁶ Brilliant prospects

¹ Accepting M. Adolphe Coster's emendation *signo* (instead of *edad*) for the unmeaning *siglo*. M. Coster is of opinion that he must have been born in June 1528, because his parents married in September 1527, but his chief ground for the latter date is . . . that Luis de Leon was born in June 1528. It is surely permissible to believe that the Treasurer Juan de Leon delayed to take the first official step (on November 9, 1527, at Burgos) to entail his estate until the birth of the eldest son (Fray Luis de Leon), who was to be its heir. The project was subsequently abandoned, owing perhaps to a quarrel with the Varelas.

² *Poesías*, Apéndice segundo, no. ix: *A Nuestra Señora*. Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 75: 'desde mi niñez me ofrecí todo a su amparo', and in the ode *Virgen que el sol más pura*: 'en ti espero Desde mi tierna edad'. Pacheco speaks of his special devotion to the Virgin.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 173: 'un hermano deste testigo [Pedro Ramirez of Belmonte] le enseñaba a leer y cantar'.

⁴ Nicolas Antonio says that he accompanied his father to Madrid *sexennis* in 1533. Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 182.

⁵ Luis de Leon refers to him as 'un hombre tan bueno y tan sabio'; 'un hombre de tanta bondad y juicio como conoció todo el reino' (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 368, 369).

⁶ The Chancillería of Granada was instituted in 1506 and corresponded to the Chancery of Valladolid for the North. Salazar at the beginning of the seventeenth century says that each Chancery had sixteen *oidores*, and that the jurisdiction of that of Granada included La Mancha, Extremadura, Andalucía, Murcia and Cartagena (*Política Española* (Logroño, 1619), pp.

opened before his eldest son, on whom Lope de Leon settled an income of 4,000 ducats. By his determination to enter a convent Luis de Leon renounced this income and a life of pleasure, but it must not be forgotten that sons of the noblest families in the land were then to be found in the convents, not excluding that of the Augustinians at Salamanca, where at this time the noble houses of Alba (Luis de Leon's friend, Fray Luis de Toledo, belonged to the family) and Enriquez (Lords High Admiral of Spain) were represented as well as those of the Marquises of Poza (Fray Pedro de Rojas) and Counts of Escalante (Fray Geronimo de Guevara), and that the highest offices in the State were open to friars. A few years later, for instance, a simple Dominican friar became Archbishop of Toledo, with an income of 200,000 ducats. Luis de Leon's choice was certainly not due to such motives as those mentioned by Cervantes Salazar;¹ more probably it was prompted by a resolve to serve the Church² and to defend it against the growth of heresy, the danger of which was then in all men's minds, and by a natural inclination to

learning's treasures

Which do all earthly treasures far excel.

A connecting link between his family and the Salamanca convent was their near relation, the very distinguished Augustinian Fray Luis de Montoya,³ who was born at Belmonte in 1497,

121, 122). It was customary to appoint Castilians to the Chancellery of the South, and Southerners to that of Valladolid (Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe II*, modern ed., ii. 359). Some idea of an *oidor's* importance is given in *Don Quixote*, Pt. I, cap. xlii. So Diego Hurtado de Mendoza writes of *gravísimos odores*. For an instance of how an *oidor* could treat even so great a personage as the Corregidor of the important town of Madrigal de las Altas Torres see J. M. G. de Echávarri, *La Justicia y Felipe Segundo* (Valladolid, 1917), p. 29.

¹ *Dialogo de la dignidad del hombre*, 1772 ed., p. 77: 'Otras veces se mete fraile o porque no puede hacer otra cosa para sustentar su honra o por huir del trabajo o por estar seguro de algunos enemigos que tiene.' With Luis de Leon *casa medrada* preceded *cabeza rapada*. For his account of the joys and hardships of convent life see *Opera*, ii. 80.

² Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 203: 'mi deseo ha sido desde mi niñez servir segun mi talento a la santa iglesia.'

³ He was the son of Alvaro de Leon (Nicolás Antonio says Antonio) and died in 1569. His life was written by the celebrated Portuguese Augustinian, the mystic Frei Thomé de Jesus. It is quite possible that Frei Thomé's desire to reform the Order in Portugal was derived from Luis de Leon through Montoya; not from Luis de Leon in Portugal, since he never left Spain (cf.

although he had left Salamanca some years earlier, being one of the able men imported by King João III, the Montoya family was represented at the Convent of San Pedro by Fray Gabriel de Montoya, whom Luis de Leon had known from childhood (*desde mi niñez*) and with whom later he was not on friendly terms. Luis de Leon in the fifteenth century would perhaps have resembled the able Fray Gonzalo de Frias described by Sigüenza, rather than his namesake, the saintly Hieronymite, Fray Luis de Leon;¹ it is more interesting to speculate what would have been the consequence to his character and career if the influence of Cano, dominant among Salamanca students a few years later (from 1546), had led him into the Dominican Order. But the Montoya connexion, and perhaps a love of humane letters which could be better satisfied among the Augustinians, decided him in favour of the Convent of San Pedro, a community of strict observance and recently renowned for the saintliness of some of its sons, especially San Tomas de Villanueva († 1555) and San Juan de Sahagun († 1479). Here Luis de Leon professed before the Provincial Fray Francisco de Nieva on January 29, 1544.² His name is given simply as Luis de Leon, and thus he always signed himself. There is no evidence that he was related to the many distinguished Ponces de Leon of his time, the Luis Ponce de Leon who was Corregidor of Salamanca from 1584 to 1592, the Luis

Doc. inéd., xi. 285: 'en todo el dicho tiempo [1544-72] nunca el dicho fray Luis ha salido del reino'; *ibid.*, p. 283: 'no sabe que el dicho fray Luis haya salido fuera destes reinos'; *ibid.*, x. 25: 'he residido en Sant Agustín de Salamanca, donde tomé el habito, sin salir del reino' [March 1573]. In Portugal, at Coimbra and Lisbon, Montoya spent the last thirty-four years of his life. He was Confessor to King Sebastian. Two grandsons of Alvaro de Leon, Pedro and Alonso de Montoya, were in the entail of Antonio de Leon's estate.

¹ *Historia de la Orden de San Jeronimo*, lib. ii, cap. 6, and lib. iv, cap. 42.

² Fray Francisco Mendez, *Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de Leon* in *Revista Agustiniana*, vol. i, p. 414 (June 5, 1881): 'Ego Fr. Ludovicus de Leon, filius Lupi de Leon et Agnetis de Valera, eius legitimæ uxoris, incolarum urbis Granatæ, expleto meo probationis tempore, facio solemnem et spontaneam professionem . . . die Martis vigesimo nono mensis Ianuarii anno millesimo quingentesimo quadagesimo quarto a Nativitate Christi.' It was partly owing to this passage that his birthplace was given as Granada. There is not the slightest doubt that it was Belmonte. See *Doc. inéd.*, x. 180 ('es natural de la villa de Belmonte en la Mancha de Aragon') and x. 182; *ibid.*, xi. 355 ('el maestro fray Luis de Leon natural de la villa de Belmonte').

Tirso de Molina in *Cigarrales de Toledo* (1624) has a reference to Belmonte and 'its marquis'. (Ed. Madrid, 1913, p. 190.)

Ponce de Leon who was killed in the Alpujarras campaign, the Pedro Ponce de Leon who was Bishop of Plasencia, the Juan Ponce de Leon who was burnt as a heretic at Seville in 1559. The celebrated Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon derived his name from his father, being the illegitimate son of the Conde de Bailén and Mencía de Leon, first cousin of Fray Luis, and thus not a nephew but a second cousin of the poet. But although none of his ancestors bore the name of Ponce de Leon, and plain Luis de Leon is the correct form of the poet's name, it does not follow that his family may not have been originally connected with the celebrated family of the Ponces de Leon. In 1438 we read of a D. Juan de Leon, *fijo de D. Pedro Ponce*.¹ If in the case of Luis de Leon's family the surname Ponce had dropped out in the same way before the middle of the fifteenth century, there would be no inclination to resume it in the middle of the sixteenth, when the feeling against those of Jewish descent was at its height, since the Ponces de Leon were well known to have Jewish blood in their veins. When Juan de Leon, Canon and Treasurer of the Collegiate Church of Belmonte, finally entailed his estate, in 1545, one of the clauses stipulated that the heir to the estate should 'bear the name of Leon without adding any other surname'.² Later the name Ponce de Leon crops up in connexion with the Leon family, although the words 'las armas de Leon . . . son las mismas que las de los Ponces de Leon'³ in the title-deed of the Polvoranca estate may well be an interpolation, and the Doña Francisca 'Ponce de Leon', who in 1581 gave land at Belmonte to the Jesuit school there, may have been simply Doña Francisca de Leon.

The marriage of Philip II to his Portuguese cousin the Infanta Maria occurred at Salamanca during Luis de Leon's novitiate, on Wednesday, November 14, 1543. Fray Luis had probably seen the Prince more than once at Valladolid, perhaps he had relatives among the courtiers who accompanied him to Salamanca. For a week the University town was in holiday. Philip, disguised (according to one account) as a huntsman, rode out to meet the

¹ *Epistolario Español*, vol. i (1850), p. 26.

² Mendez, *Vida en Revista Agustimana*, vol. iii, p. 133: 'sin poner ni añadir otro sobrenombre'. Cf. Antonio de Leon's *mayorazgo* (1575) (Mendez, iii. 256).

³ Mendez, iii. 256.

Princess with the Duke of Alba, the Marqués de Villena, and a throng of cavaliers from Salamanca. There went 150 knights in crimson taffeta, and another 150 in white and yellow. All the dignitaries of the Cathedral and of the University were there, and the civic authorities waited at the city gates in robes of crimson velvet. The young Princess, accompanied by the Archbishop of Lisbon, the Duke of Alba, and a splendid retinue, made her solemn entry into the city, but the short November day was over, and it was not till one o'clock in the morning that she reached the palace by the light of many torches under triumphal arches.¹

Before leaving Salamanca on November 19, Prince Philip attended a lecture by Fray Domingo de Soto, who was already one of the lights of the University. The veteran Vitoria, of whom so much had been expected in the long-delayed Council of Trent, was nearing the end of his labours, and Cano had not yet arrived upon the scene.

¹ See Gil Gonzalez de Avila, *Historia de las Antigüedades de la Ciudad de Salamanca* (1606), p. 483; Bernardo Dorado, *Historia de Salamanca*, ed. 1863, pp. 295-304; Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip II*, Book I, chap. 2; Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, lib. i, cap. 2; *Documentos inéditos*, t. iii, pp. 361-418: *Relacion del recibimiento que se hizo a Doña María*, etc.

V

Student Years (1544-60)

'Si modicam violentiam nobis faceremus a principio, cuncta postea possemus facere cum levitate et gaudio.'—*De Imitatione Christi*.

'Nam initia virtutis asperiora, fines laetissimi.'—LUIS DE LEON.

'Cuando una cosa llega a hábito hace contento y regalo, que es lo postrero a que llegar puede'—LUIS DE LEON.

THE death of Vitoria in 1546, and the triumphant candidature of the brilliant Cano to the succession of his Prima Chair of Theology, marked Luis de Leon's advent to the Schools of the famous University, then at the height of its glory.

It is improbable that he attended any lecture by Vitoria,¹ since the theological student had first to study 'the arts'.² This Luis de Leon did in the Augustinian Convent under Fray Juan de Guevara,³ nine years his senior and his lifelong friend. It is impossible to know if his name appeared on the matriculation lists of the University in 1541 or 1542, since the earliest book preserved, if not in fact the earliest, is that of 1546-7. There Luis de Leon appears as a theological student, and it is extremely probable that this was the first appearance of his name as *teólogo*, even if it had earlier appeared as *artista*, since it figured for the last time (as theological student) on the list of 1554-5, and this period would correspond to the nine years of theological study mentioned by the Statutes.⁴ 'Cano was my master and I attended his lectures in the Schools', says Fray Luis.⁵ He probably heard all

¹ The lectures of Vitoria in his library were not taken down by Luis de Leon (*Doc. inéd.* x. 236).

² A theological course of lectures did not count for voting purposes 'sino fuese hecho despues de tener todos los cursos de artes'.

³ Cf. *Doc. inéd.* xi. 267: 'en las artes tuvo por maestro a fray Juan de Guevara y en la Teulugia escolastica a el maestro Cano y maestro Mancio, y en la Biblia al maestro Cipriano.'

⁴ *Estatutos* (1561), f. 23. His name, however, reappears as a theological student in the lists of 1558-9 and 1559-60.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.* x. 239: 'oyendo al Maestro Cano que fué mi maestro, le escribí en el general las liciones que le oía, como es costumbre en Salamanca.'

his lectures from 1546 till 1551, when Cano left Salamanca to attend the Council of Trent. The stimulating influence of the great Dominican can have been felt by none more keenly than by his *paisano* Luis de Leon who, before Cano began to lecture, had already made sufficient progress in exegetical studies to be consulted by a friend as to a passage in Ezekiel, and had given a written answer in Latin,¹ and Cano's outspokenness and even violence may have had a permanent effect on his character. The matriculation lists (more properly the lists of students, since the names of all students at the University were entered every year) for 1547-1550 are missing, and in that of 1551-2 Luis de Leon's name does not appear. The Augustinians, Fray Juan de Guevara and Fray Hernando de Peralta, bore witness in 1560 that Fray Luis had studied theology during four and a half years in the Schools and had ceased to be a student nine years ago.² Did he simply take his name off the books when Cano left, or is its non-appearance in 1551-2 to be connected with the persecution to which Luis de Leon declares he was subjected during two years as the result of his outspoken championship of a friend (clearly a fellow-Augustinian)?³ There can have been no connexion between this incident and the successful candidature of Fray Luis's uncle Francisco de Leon (†1557) to the Prima Chair of Canon Law in or before the year 1551. His name reappears on the lists in 1552-5, whether this was due merely to the wish

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 239: 'siendo de edad de diez y ocho o diez y nueve años a un amigo que me pidió le declarase aquello del profeta Ezechiel *Signa tan [sic for tau] super frontes virorum gementium* (Ezekiel ix. 4), le respondí por escrito en latin.'

² Referring apparently to the year 1554, he says (*Doc. inéd.* x. 381 and 520) that he knew little theology then as he had just ceased attending lectures, a statement which we must take not as a slur on the University but as an indication that Luis de Leon intended his education to be lifelong.

³ 'Non desunt qui dictum Provinciale [Francisco Serrano] accusent tyrannidis deque eo querantur gravissime, et utinam falso accusent' wrote the General of the Order, Seripando, on January 30, 1550 (C. Muñoz Sáenz, *Fr. Luis de León y Fray Diego de Zúñiga* (1915), p. 259). Here, at least, one may be sure of a connexion between complaints of tyranny and Luis de Leon. Forty years later in the report composed, evidently by Luis de Leon, in support of the Carmelite nuns, at the end of 1590 or beginning of 1591, the word *tyranía* does not fail to appear. So in his poems we have *libre de espanto ante el tirano airado* (*instans tyrannus*), *cruel tirano, lo malo y lo tirano, maldad y tiranía*; the word even creeps into his translation of Ps. 103: *tirano sangriento*.

to keep an Augustinian voter on the books as long as possible, or to that of being able to attend the lectures of Soto, who had succeeded Cano in the Prima Chair of Theology in 1552. Luis de Leon says expressly that Soto as well as Cano had been his master.¹ He had already begun teaching in his Order (in March 1574 he says that he had been lecturing on theology for over twenty years).² As he was clearly at Salamanca until 1555, and matriculated at Alcalá in the autumn of 1556,³ the six months which he tells us he spent as lecturer (*lector*) at the Augustinian convent at Soria⁴ must be assigned to the first half of 1556: months, one may be sure, not without interest for Fray Luis, since the little town of Soria, with its Romanesque churches and remarkable cloisters, its ancient traditions and neighbouring Numancia, might be regarded in some respects as the heart of Spain. He remained at Alcalá for eighteen months, although not consecutively, attending lectures and also as lecturer, and it was probably in 1557 or 1558 that he first visited Toledo and took his degree of Bachelor at its University. The motive cannot have been economy, for Fray Luis was well supplied by his father with money for degrees,⁵ and that of Bachelor was a comparatively simple and inexpensive affair. If he required

¹ *Opera*, v. 110: 'quam sententiam secuti sunt magistri nostri Soto et Cano.'

² *Doc. inéd.* x. 560: 'mas de veinte y quatro que las leo y enseño en mi orden primero y despues en la universidad de Salamanca.'

³ See J. González de Tejada, *Vida* (1863), p. 10. Luis de Leon's name is not on the 1557-8 list.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.* x. 182 (cf. x. 257): 'tomó el hábito de Sant Agustin en el monesterio desta orden de la dicha ciudad, onde ha residido siempre, salvo medio año que hizo de ausencia en San Agustin de Soria, y en Alcalá estuvo año y medio en diferentes veces, oyendo e leyendo.' The Augustinian convent at Soria was of recent foundation (c. 1530). Guevara had no pleasant recollections of Soria. He speaks of 'la tierra fria, los aires sutiles, el pan poco, los vinos malos y las gentes no necias, que a la verdad si en otra parte juzgan lo que ven allí dicen lo que piensan' (*Epistolas Familiares*, no. 4); a remark which his critic Pedro de la Rhua contradicts (he had lived at Soria for over fifteen years) in a letter of April 25, 1540. Guevara (*Ep. Fam.*, no. 1) accurately places Numancia 'una legua de allí [Soria] en un lugar llamado Garray.'

⁵ Mendez, *Vida*, in *Revista Agustiniana*, vol. iii (1882), p. 131: 'y a más de aquello habemos dado al dicho Fray Luis nuestro hijo después aca que tomó el hábito de la religion lo siguiente: Más de quinientos ducados para libros. Item seis mil maravedis en cada un año por tiempo de quince años. Item quinientos ducados que le dimos para sus grados. Item doce mil maravedis que se le han dado en cada un por tiempo de cinco años, que montan sesenta mil maravedis, y los cuales dichos doce mil maravedis se le han de dar, en cada un año mientras viviere, por el dicho Miguel de Leon.'

a degree before lecturing at Alcalá it may have been more convenient to go to Toledo than to return to Salamanca. Here was another scene of interest for the poetical imagination of the young friar, full as the city was of wonderful Moorish and Christian monuments, and to his sojourn here when about thirty may be ascribed one of his noblest poems, the *Profecía del Tajo*. The atmosphere of Alcalá University, open to every breath of the Renaissance, must have been very congenial to Luis de Leon. 'Totius Hispaniae oraculum', Garcia Matamoros proudly calls it, and Fray Luis himself alludes to it as 'nobilissima illa Academia'¹. As he hurried through the quaint arcaded streets from the Augustinian Convent to the University he may have passed an urchin who was destined to become one of his most fervent admirers and who bore the name Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. One of the Alcalá professors who was to play an important part in Luis de Leon's life was the Dominican Fray Mancio de Corpus Christi (†1576), who a few years later, in 1564, succeeded Fray Pedro de Sotomayor in the Prima Chair of Theology at Salamanca. He was of a cautious temperament and did not publish books, but had a widely extended reputation as theologian.² But the Alcalá professor who left a permanent impression on Luis de Leon's mind was the Cistercian Fray Cipriano de la Huerga (†1560), a Greek and Hebrew scholar who shared his enthusiasm for the Scriptures and his love of music.³

In May 1557 Luis de Leon found time to attend the Augustinian Chapter at Dueñas, and the Latin oration he delivered there is famous in the annals of the Order. That he should have been chosen to deliver it, at the age of thirty, shows how high an opinion his Order held of his talents, although the Augustinians, who had trained him in rhetoric to be used in candidatures for Chairs against the Dominicans, must have been somewhat dis-

¹ *Opera*, vii. 403.

² Cf. Espinel, *Relaciones de la Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, Rel. I. Discurso xi: 'Vi al Padre Mancio cuyo nombre estaba y está esparcido en todo lo descubierto'. In 1573, by one of many errors in the report of Luis de Leon's trial, Fray Mancio says that he has known him for four years: *de cuatro años a esta parte siendo su decipulo en Alcalá* (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 317).

³ Among his works were commentaries on the *Psalms*, *Isaiah*, the *Book of Job*, the *Song of Songs* (Compluti, 1582), and a treatise *De ratione musicae et instrumentorum apud veteres Hebraeos*. Luis de Leon attended his lectures on the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (*Doc. inéd.* x. 478) and addressed to him a long letter in Latin on a theological subject (*Doc. inéd.* x. 240).

concerted when the flow of his oratory was turned against themselves. Fray Alonso Orozco, with Juan de Avila one of the pioneers of mysticism in Spain, who presided, in a letter to the General of the Order spoke of an excess of zeal. So vehement, so violent is the oration that doubts have been cast upon its authenticity,¹ but we know from other passages in Luis de Leon's works how immoderate he could be in the cause of justice, how aggressive when he had been unfairly treated, how zealous in denouncing abuses and ambition.² He declared that he had been persecuted during two years for having defended a friend and he accused his superiors of being whited sepulchres. The fact that all the friars beneath their external observance of minute formulas were not angels fired his hatred of hypocrisy. That there were abuses is evident, it could hardly be otherwise. The equally ardent Fray Domingo de Rojas in the following year (1558) declared that he desired to live alone in a corner far from the wickedness of convents.³ Probably too the Order thought it no harm to have its coat dusted occasionally in the Chapters, and Fray Luis may thus have been given full permission to 'let himself go'. Some of the most personal passages are really marked by the impersonal *tu* of the rhetorician and are merely declamatory; some of the abuses denounced have been supposed to refer to the convents of St. Paul founded under the Augustinian rule by a soldier Pedro de Vargas and suppressed in 1563;⁴ but a direct attack on one of his superiors with whom he had quarrelled must have been regretted by Fray Luis later as what

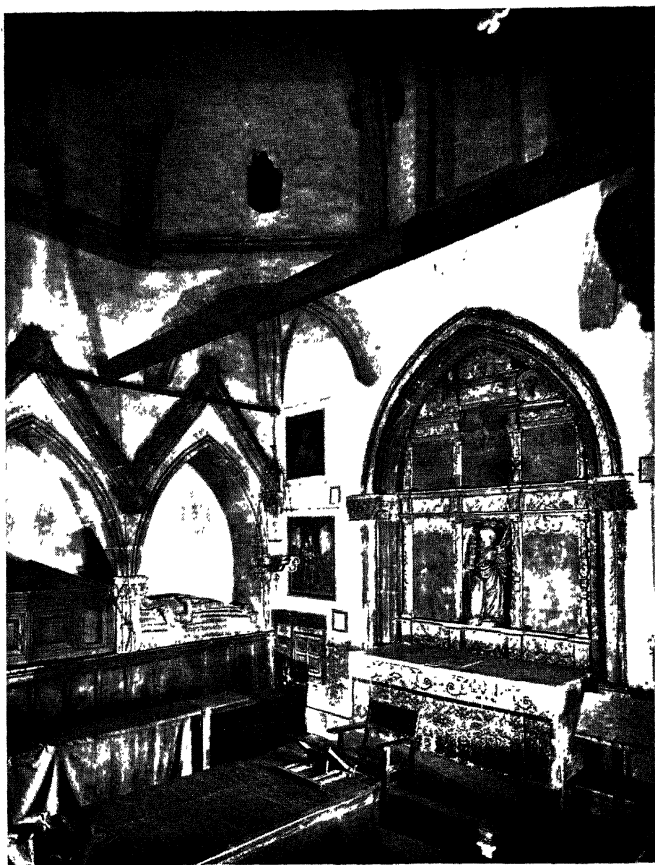
¹ The text was printed at Madrid in 1792: *Fr. Ludovici Legionensis . . . Orationes Tres*; and reprinted by M. Adolphe Coster in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 1 (1920), pp. 1-60. It was not included in the Salamanca edition of Luis de Leon's Latin works. See *Opera*, vii. 405, 406. The Augustinians Vidal, Méndez, Cámara, Blanco García and Muñoz Sáenz accepted it as genuine. Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela is doubtful.

² The words, 'Sic enim affectus sum, sic a puero institutus ut aliorum vitae censor esse nulla ratione velim, sed si id sit necesse a vero depelli nullo timore possim', are thoroughly in keeping with his character, and with remarks to be found elsewhere in his works. The phrase 'perditorum hominum passim obvia multitudo' (*Rev. Hisp.* l. 54) may also be taken as an indication of authenticity (see *infra*, p. 255).

³ 'Las suciedades y males que se parescian en todas las ordenes . . . hallaba más paz y más Cristo en casas de seglares que en las de religion y que a este fin deseaba vivir a solas en un rincon', *Procesos de Protestantes Españoles* (1910), p. 23.

⁴ This suggestion was first made by P. Merino in letters dated Oct. 19 and Nov. 20, 1821.

he would himself call a 'demasía de palabras'. In 1558 he was back at Salamanca and on October 31 'incorporated' his Toledo degree in the University. An atmosphere of gloom had fallen upon the city, for a Dominican friar of San Esteban, Fray Domingo de Rojas, had been arrested on a charge of heresy and was burnt at Valladolid in the following year, while a royal decree of 1558 ordered an inquiry into the existence of heretical books in the University, and as to whether 'any students hold or teach Lutheran errors and doctrines which are not Catholic'. The year 1559 is a blank in Luis de Leon's life and must have been spent in quiet study at Salamanca, but in 1560 he emerges into the full light of day. In that year he took his degrees of Licentiate and Master in Theology. In the *repeticiones* in April, Luis de Leon with boldness and originality defended certain points connected with the literal interpretation of the Old Testament and the question of indulgences. On Sunday, May 5, Fray Luis began to 'pass through the chapel of Santa Barbara', as the phrase went. The Vice-Chancellor, Maestro Gaspar de Torres, after Mass of the Espíritu Santo had been celebrated, at a table by the chapel-door in the cloister of the Old Cathedral duly approved the first book of the *Liber Sententiarum* (of the 'Master of Sentences' Peter Lombard) as that from which texts for the examination must be taken, and on this being opened in three places in presence of Drs. Leon de Castro, Pedro del Espinar, and Alonso Molano, Fray Luis chose two passages beginning *Cumque supra* and *Hic quaeri opus*. On the following day the examining *maestros* made their appearance, Vice-Chancellor Torres, Domingo de Soto, who acted as Luis de Leon's *padrino* throughout, Francisco Sancho, Martin Vicente, Pedro de Sotomayor, Espinar, Castro, and Alonso Molano, with the notary Andrés de Guadalajara. The candidate sat on a comfortable leathern chair studded with great nails, his back to the altar of the chapel of Santa Barbara, his knees touching the tomb of the founder Lucero (the chapel, with cupola roof, is but some eight yards square). By a refinement of cruelty the examiners, thus kept fiercely awake, sat on a narrow wooden bench on either side along the walls. Luis de Leon passed this difficult test by the unanimous vote of the examiners, that is, he obtained only



THE CHAPEL OF ST BARBARA

A's (*Aprobación*) without a single R (*Reprobación*), and on the following day, May 7, in the same place, he formally received the degree of Licentiate.¹ On June 30, in the New Cathedral, Juan de Guevara and Luis de Leon, in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor, the Vice-Rector, and fifty doctors and masters of the University, in the chapel near the high altar,² received the degree of Master of Theology. After the candidate had maintained his thesis, Domingo de Soto rose from his seat and, having made the candidate take his place, set on the fourth finger of his left hand a gold ring and the cap of Master of Theology, with white tuft, on his head and a book in his hand. He then gave him the *osculum pacis et dilectionis* and conducted him along the rows of masters and doctors to receive the 'kiss of peace' from each in turn.³ A student with the degree of Bachelor then rose and congratulated the new masters; four *maestros*, including Leon de Castro, made speeches of satirical congratulation, the traditional *gallos* for which Salamanca was celebrated, and the new masters answered. Luis de Leon then, as the most recent master, for Guevara had received his degree first, delivered a sermon in Latin, and after the distribution of gloves and other emoluments the ceremony in the cathedral ended⁴ and the new masters were solemnly escorted through the streets by the assembled doctors. It was the last degree conferred by the great Domingo de Soto. He died on November 15 of this year 1560 (which also saw the untimely death of two men who had

¹ Getino, *Vida y procesos*, pp. 77-8.

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo*, vol. iii, p. 420: 'dentro de la yglesia mayor nueva, e catedral de la dicha ciudad, en la capilla que está junto al altar mayor.' (Chapel of Santa Maria Magdalena.) At Valladolid degrees were likewise conferred in the Cathedral in the chapel of San Lorenzo. Although the New Cathedral of Salamanca was not finished in 1560, the *oficios divinos* had been solemnly transferred to it on March 25 of that year.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 421. See also Getino, *Vida y procesos*, pp. 69-86, and José González de Tejada, *Vida*, pp. 11-14.

⁴ It had changed little from that so pithily described by Petrarca in the *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae* (i. 12): 'Venit iuvenis stultus ad templum, praeceptores illum sui praedicant, celebrant, seu amore, seu errore; tumet ille, vulgus stupet, plaudunt affines et amici. Ipse iussus in cathedram scandit, cuncta iam ex alto despiciens et nescio quid confusum murmurans; tunc maiores certatim ceu divina locutum laudibus ad coelum tollunt, tinniunt interim campanae, strepunt tubae, volant annuli, figuntur osculi, vertici rotundus et niger pannus imprimitur. His peractis descendit sapiens qui stultus ascenderat.'

had great influence on Luis de Leon: Melchor Cano and Cipriano de la Hueraga) and it fell to Fray Luis as the youngest *maestro* to pronounce his funeral oration in the Cathedral. It was an occasion of great solemnity. Bishop Covarrubias, official visitor of the University, was present. The preacher in an eloquent sermon of pure Latinity referred to his friendly relations with Soto and his personal grief,¹ and, with a passing mention of abuses of the time and defects of education in Soto's youth, paid a glowing tribute to the character and intellect, the wisdom and humility of the dead master, who, he prophesied, would live for ever in the minds and on the lips of men. One of those who read the oration, Gaspar de Baeza, translator of Paulus Jovius,² wrote on April 1, 1561, to Luis de Leon's father praising its author's ability and style,³ which he set before that of Lebrija, Cano, Carranza, Vitoria, Castro, and Soto. His praise may not have been entirely disinterested, for Baeza was an advocate at Granada where Lope de Leon was judge; but it was not unfounded, and his prophecy⁴ that posterity would hear the new Lion's voice proved truer than is usual with such predictions. Lope de Leon had reason to be proud of his son.

¹ *Opera*, vii. 390: 'ut par est credere me illi . . . non plane invisum fuisse, ita certe est verum et me de eius morte magnum dolorem cepisse.'

² Baeza died by his own hand before the age of thirty; several legal books were published posthumously. Baeza did not shine as a poet, but he was celebrated by a poet of no mean order, Luis Barahona de Soto.

³ 'Praestantissimo et amplissimo Domino Lopio Leoni, Senatori Regio . . . Gaspar Beatius': 'ingenium vividum, velox, promptum et argutum . . . orationis fluxum acrem, vehementem, uberem, limpidum et amoenum' (*Opera*, vii, 385-6).

⁴ 'Leo Leonem genuisti, cuius vocem (ni me fallunt omina) audiet etiam posteritas' (*Opera*, vii. 387).

VI

Professor at Salamanca (1560-72)

'It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion, it is easy in solitude to live after one's own ; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps the perfect sweetness and independence of solitude.'—EMERSON.

'Quamvisque vel in mediis urbibus mediisque hominum coetibus otium sibi ad vacandum Deo et locum vacuum constituent, utpote qui ipsi secum circumferunt altam quandam quietem ac omnium earum rerum quae perturbare animum possint solitudinem.'—LUIS DE LEON.

LUIS DE LEON's first attempt to obtain a Chair was unsuccessful. The race was won by an outsider, Licentiate Gaspar de Grajal securing the Chair of Bible (in substitution of Gregorio Gallo, who had been appointed to the see of Segovia in June 1560), over the heads of six rival candidates, all of whom, like Luis de Leon, were Maestros. He obtained 536 votes to Luis de Leon's 332. The new Statutes of the University, about to be published, contained a clause that only those who held Chairs might be present at the conferring of degrees. Luis de Leon claimed that the Statute did not exclude him from the coveted privilege since he had taken his degree before the Statute had been officially sanctioned by the University and the Pope, although not before it had been signed by the King (on April 27, 1560). He brought an action against the Syndic of the University¹ before the Vice-Chancellor and won his case. At one o'clock on the afternoon of December 20, in the Mercenarian Convent of Vera Cruz, the Vice-Chancellor (Vice-Escolastico) Gaspar de Torres handed him the verdict given in his favour three days earlier and signed by Torres and by Drs. Juan de Muñoz and Diego de Vera.² When the University met to sanction the new Statutes on October 26, 1561, Luis de Leon was still without a Chair and figured as plain Maestro fray Luis de Leon between Fray Juan de Guevara,

¹ Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Proceso Original*, &c., in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Febrero de 1917, p. 88 (acusando al Síndico en rebeldía); J. González de Tejada, *Vida*, pp. 20-3.

² *Archivo*, p. 94.

Cathedratico de Durando, and Maestro Gaspar de Grajal, substitute Professor of Bible for Maestro Gregorio Gallo.¹ Within a month, however, he could style himself Professor² and he took possession of his Chair of Theology in the following December. The Chair of St. Thomas had become vacant in October and, although the Dominicans supported Maestro Rodriguez, Luis de Leon was victorious by 108 votes to 55. The election was remarkable for a speech (*platica*) made by Fray Luis against the Dominicans, in which he alluded to the heresies lately discovered in their Order. (Carranza had been arrested in August 1559, but had not yet been condemned, and the allusion must have been especially to Fray Domingo de Rojas of the Convent of San Esteban who was burnt at Valladolid as a heretic in 1559.)³ This, from a member of the Order to which Luther himself originally belonged, must have bitterly offended the Dominicans, and we can well believe Fray Luis when he says that they felt it keenly (*se sintieron fieramente*).⁴ It was in 1561 that Luis de Leon translated into Spanish the *Song of Songs*, a fact of which he and the world were to hear more later. On July 24, 1562, his father died and in September he set out to visit his mother at Granada. He went first out of his way to Valladolid to lay a certain matter before the Inquisition. A couple of years before, as he was preparing one of his *quodlibets* for his degree, an Augustinian, Fray Diego Rodriguez or de Zúñiga (whom few will now identify with the celebrated Fray Diego de Zúñiga or Arias⁵), entered his cell and began reading Luis de Leon's treatise. Fray Luis referred to an Italian book shown him by Arias Montano, based on the texts *Quomodo obscuratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus*

¹ *Estatutos* (1561), f. 3 v.

² 'Frater Ludovicus Legionensis, Magister et cathedraticus in Universitate Salmanticensi' [November 25, 1561] (Francisco Mendez, *Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de Leon* in *Revista Agustiniiana*, vol. ii (1881), p. 158).

³ This fervent young friar had the air of an apostle as, in a white surplice over his white frock, he celebrated the communion after the manner of the primitive Church in an upper room at Valladolid. Son of the Marqués de Poza, he compromised his whole family, and a kindly uncle, brother of the Marquesa de Alcañices, bearing witness before the Inquisitors, said, 'You may well burn Fray Domingo', which they proceeded to do. See *Procesos de Protestantes Españoles en el siglo XVI* (edited by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo), Madrid 1910, pp. 11, 66, &c.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 258.

⁵ See Fray C. Muiños Sáenz, *Fr. Luis de León y Fr. Diego de Zúñiga* (El Escorial, 1915).

and *Ego non reputo homines iustos sed iustifico*. Some passages at the end of the book he did not agree with, but thought they might have been interpolated by a heretic (*hombre de fe dañada*), whereupon Rodriguez, who was a sack of scruples and suspicions often perilously resembling serpents, said, 'And what if Montano inserted them?' Luis de Leon indignantly defended Arias Montano and showed Rodriguez a letter from him lying on his table. A few days later he met Rodriguez again and knowing his disposition, perhaps knowing that he had been consulting one person after another as to his scruples, he said, 'What a pessimist you are (*gran melancólico sois*): you still seem to be thinking ill of that man'. And Rodriguez answered, 'Of the man I do not think ill, but I have a scruple as to whether I should denounce the book'. And so now Luis de Leon, 'seized in turn with a fit of melancholy and seeing the number of heretics that had been discovered and were daily being discovered in Spain, and that nothing seemed sure', came to lay the matter before the Inquisition and ask what he should do. He was told to put it in writing and present the report to the Inquisition at one o'clock on the following day. That night he drew up his report and received a visit from the scrupulous Rodriguez, who asked him why he was at Valladolid. 'Ahi lo vereis', answered Fray Luis and read out to him what he had written. Next day he rode up to the office of the Inquisition on his mule¹ and presented the paper to the Inquisitors Grijelmo and Riego.² According to Rodriguez, Luis de Leon came and conducted him to the Inquisition and in his presence first laid the whole affair before the Inquisitors.³ But Rodriguez's scruples were still unsatisfied.

Mounted on his mule and furnished no doubt with spectacles against the glare and dust and a sunshade, like the two Benedictine monks in *Don Quixote*, and accompanied by his *mozo*, 'el fiel serviente', he now, after leaving the Inquisition, set out on his long journey. The day was very hot, and as he had already

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 379: 'Otro día a la hora asentada vine a esta casa a mula.'

² *Ibid.* x. 375-81; x. 68-71; x. 94; xi. 192, 215. It appears that Arias Montano was arrested in consequence (*Ibid.* xi. 192).

³ *Ibid.* x. 70: ' viniendo allí a Valladolid, sin le decir para qué, le sacó fuera y le llevó en casa de un Inquisidor, que no sabe como se llamaba ni sabrá decir adonde moraba.'

taken leave at the Augustinian Convent at Valladolid he spent the *siesta* in an inn outside the town.¹ As the heat scarcely diminishes before sunset, Fray Luis and his servant Domingo Rapon cannot have ridden very far that day. There is only one reference to inns in Luis de Leon's works, and the complaint is of their dearness, not of their discomfort,² but silence does not mean consent, and he must have suffered as much as the Flemish scholar Clenardus or Spanish Cervantes from the hard mattresses of their trestle-beds, and the *cena limitada y venteril* (quite recently, in 1560, the Cortes had suggested that the inns of Spain should be well supplied with food). The journey to Granada was long and arduous, how arduous only those know who have travelled slowly over the roads of Castille beneath the summer sun; but it was not without interest to Fray Luis's observant eyes. Both roads and inns were less deserted then than they are at the present day. Many a monk would he pass and meet travelling on some business of their Order, many a pilgrim making for Santiago, workmen tramping to the Escorial in the hope of being employed in the building of the great convent to be begun in the following year, wool-carders (*perailles*) of Segovia, needle-sellers from Córdoba, merchants from Toledo going to buy silk at Murcia, poor students, actors and mummers, officials, priests, *hidalgos*. Often he would see a shepherd-boy by the roadside starving on the salary of seven *reales* a month, irregularly paid, or a circle of peasants resting from their labours, or a blind beggar and his malicious *lazarillo* sharing a great bunch of grapes; or he would meet a pair of the *Hermanidad*, the *Guardia Civil* of that day, or pass a string of convicts bound for one of the ports and carefully guarded, since the escape of one of them entailed a fine of a hundred ducats in order to provide a slave to take his place in the galleys.³ We do not know exactly when Luis de Leon returned to Salamanca. Of his stay at Granada

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 379: 'y porque hacía mucho calor para caminar aquella hora y no podía volver al monasterio porque me había despedido ya, estuve pasando la siesta en un meson fuera de la villa.'

² *Exposicion de Job*, xxxix. 11: 'mesones de paso, en que se paga todo al doblo y amargamente se escota.'

³ *La Pragmatica | que su Magestad mãda que se impri|ma. Sobre los Vagamundos, Ladrones, Blasphemos, Ru|fianes, Testigos falsos, Inducidores y Casados | dos vezes, y otras cosas.* Alcalá, 1566 [12 unnd. pp.].

we know nothing beyond the fact that Archbishop Guerrero saw him one day at the University there.¹ He must also have made the acquaintance of the Portuguese-Castilian poet and musician, Gregorio Silvestre, and no doubt frequented the house of the Duke of Escalona, Marqués de Villena (the fourth Duke, Don Francisco), as did the poet Luis Barahona de Soto a few years later; perhaps also that of the Duke of Sessa. In May 1563, at the Augustinian Chapter held at Dueñas, Fray Luis was appointed Definidor, and in this capacity it fell to him to impose a penance on Fray Diego Rodriguez (for insolence to a superior).² In 1565 Luis de Leon supported Guevara's candidature for the Vespers Chair of Theology, vacant by the death of Fray Juan de la Peña,³ and it was largely owing to his efforts that the rival candidate, the Dominican Juan Gallo, was defeated,⁴ while he himself a few days later successfully contested the Durando⁵ Chair, left vacant by Guevara, winning it on March 16 by 21 votes (144 to Diego Rodriguez's 123). Later in the year, when the provincial Conference of Santiago de Compostela, attended by the Archbishop of Santiago and fourteen Bishops, was sitting at Salamanca, Luis de Leon was ill in bed, but in September (the month in which the Conference opened) he was able to attend a meeting of the Claustro and voted against the bestowal of a special course of lectures on the defeated Gallo, which was, however, granted on October 8.⁶ One of those who attended the Conference, Diego de Simancas, Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, was ordered in the following year (1566) to return to Salamanca as official visitor of the University. He arrived in July and at once fastened upon what he considered the pernicious practice of dictation on the part of the lecturers. The Statutes of 1561 forbade it⁷, but the rule was not very rigidly observed. Simancas

¹ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 292: 'al dicho fray Luis de Leon conoce de poco tiempo, de una vez que le vido en las Escuelas de esta cibdad.'

² *Ibid.* xi. 335: 'fray Diego Rodriguez, o de Zúñiga por otro nombre, se desmandó en palabras con fray Francisco Cueto,' &c.

³ Leon de Castro speaks of Fray Pedro de Soto and Fray Juan de la Peña as 'hujus academiae lumina fulgentissima'.

⁴ Cf. *Doc. inéd.* xi. 305, 314, 329.

⁵ i. e. Durand de Saint Pourçain, successively Bishop of Puy and Meaux.

⁶ See Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, iii. 331-41.

⁷ *Estatutos* (1561), f. 27 v.: 'Item ordenamos que los lectores de qualquier

now obtained a decree from the Council at Madrid to the effect that dictation would entail loss of the lecturer's Chair. It was a matter on which Luis de Leon and others felt keenly. He foresaw the garbled versions of lectures taken down rapidly by two or three hundred students. He was himself fined ¹ a ducat (September 1566) as a result of Simancas's visit. He must have been one of the sixty professors who attended the meeting at Salamanca in which Sandoval, the Prima Professor of Canon Law, was reduced to tears, and the impertinent and conceited Bishop Simancas told them that sixty professors ought surely to be able to understand a statute written in Spanish, and left them like so many whipped schoolboys.²

facultad que seã no lean por cartapacio ni quaderno ni papel alguno, ni dictando; y q̃ se entienda dictar quando repiten cada palabra o parte de la conclusion por si sin dezirla entera o la repiten entera muchas vezes o tan de espacio que vayan aguardando a los oyentes que la escriuã. Pero permittimos que puedan repetir la conclusion entera dos vezes y no mas, aun que en las cosas principales se dexa al aluedrio del lector que las repita dos o tres vezes.'

¹ The Rector of the University, accompanied by a professor, went the round of the lecture-rooms and took the sworn statement of two students as to the matter and manner of the lectures given in each Chair.

² *La vida y cosas notables del Señor Obispo de Zamora, Don Diego de Simancas, natural de Córdoba, &c., in Autobiografías y Memorias (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles)*, Madrid, 1905, p. 163: 'yo me hallé en una leccion y vide que repetían cinco y seis veces cada palabra de las que decían para que las escribiesen, porque los que eran tardos daban con el tintero muchas veces y decía el lector: Digo señores, repitiendolo hasta que [ya no] daban tinterazos. Vistas mis razones en Consejo [he said that it was a new practice, bad for the memory and intellect of the students, that many lecturers had their lectures written for them by friends or servants, and that what should have been got through in one month occupied six] 'me enviaron una provision con pena de privacion de cátedra contra el que leyese e diese de aquella manera a escribir dictando. Hice juntar todos los catedráticos en su claustro y mandéles notificar la provision, lo cual sintieron tanto que no lo pudieron disimular, y Sandoval, Catedrático de Prima de Canones, dijo con lágrimas que segun aquello le habían de quitar la cátedra y que había gastado en ella y en graduarse la dote de su mujer y que quedaba destruido. Y Hector Rodriguez, Catedrático de Prima de Leyes, dijo que se nombrasen dos personas que juntasen las utilidades que resultaban en leer de aquella manera y otras dos que juntasen los inconvenientes, y que se hiciese conforme a lo que más conveniese. Otro dijo que les declarase yo un estatuto que daba orden en el dar teóricas por escrito [*Estatutos* (1561), f. 27 v.]. Estaban a mis lados el Rector y Maestrescuela, y decíanme que me levantase, que nunca acabarían. Yo les dije que no habían de quedar sin respuesta, y volviendome a Sandoval dije que por lo pasado no quitaba las cátedras y, que si no obedeciesen un mandato tan justo, por su culpa serían privados de las cátedras y no tenían de quien quejarse sino de sí mismos. Y a Hector dije que si sería cosa muy acertada sobre lo que el Rey mandaba nombrar quien lo disgustase. Y al otro dije que habiendo allí sesenta Catedráticos era bueno que me pidiesen a mí

As a lecturer Luis de Leon left his mark on generations of students, for his lectures were always stimulating, personal, living and extremely lucid. There was always some bond of sympathy to keep the lecturer in touch with his hearers. He was a brilliant dialectician and would delight a critical audience by a long and closely reasoned argument,¹ after the fashion of the Scholastics, or he would demonstrate the living interest and incomparable poetry of the Scriptures, or give a detailed calculation as to the duration of the Earth.² When one least expected it, would come a quotation from some pagan poet or a graphic phrase in Castilian; an allusion to contemporary events, or a description of the Spanish conquests in the New World; a reference to a bull-fight or fishing³ or to gambling among students, or a touch of humour such as would appeal to his listeners, as when he speaks of those who may not dispose of their property, as 'minors under twenty-five, wives who gamble without permission of their husbands, idiots, monks'; or declares that 'it is better to reject riches than to keep them, but both are good'.⁴ He always made his hearers feel that he was interested in them, as when in discussing free will he says, 'I see you writing and am not mistaken in this, yet I do not make you write, you do it of your own free will'.⁵ He carried on the stimulating tradition of Vitoria and Cano, with more of literary interest; his lecture-

declaracion de un estatuto que estaba escrito en romance, que guardasen lo que se les mandaba y si no que se aparejasen a la pena; y con esto salí del claustro y ellos se fueron (como dicen en Italia) con tanto *naso*.' So much for the vaunted independence of the University in the sixteenth century. It was not to be expected that Simancas, whose memoirs are worth reading for their amazing self-conceit, would be popular among Salamanca professors. We know that one of them (Bartolomé de Medina) discovered six or seven heretical propositions in one of his works (probably his *Enchiridion Iudicum violatae religionis*, Venetiis, 1569) and that another (Luis de Leon) had not even read it (*Doc. inéd.* x. 422).

¹ e. g. *Opera*, i. 30 et seq.

² *Opera*, iii. 474-81.

Opera, vi. 351.

⁴ *Opera*, vi. 408: 'minores viginti quinque annis, uxores qui ludunt sine licentia mariti, mentecapti, monachi'; cf. vi. 296: 'quarto, pro consolatione monachorum'; *Opera*, vi. 298: 'abiicere divitias melius est quam habere illas, at utrumque est bonum'.

⁵ *Opera*, vii. 129: 'sicut ego video vos scribentes, nec fallor in eo, et tamen nullam necessitatem afferro ut scribatis, libere enim et contingenter scribitis'; cf. vi. 317: 'intelligitur sine magno incommodo nostro', iv. 461: 'argumenta vos potestis dissolvere'.

room was always full to overflowing¹ and those who heard these fervent discourses considered them little short of miraculous.²

It was when Luis de Leon was forty that he became as prominent in the University as he already was in his Order. In 1566 his friend Portocarrero³ became Rector of the University for the second time, and his successor, Don Diego Lopez de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, son of the Duke of Bejar, was also a close friend of Luis de Leon. Fray Luis in 1566 had been appointed administrator of the Augustinian College of San Guillermo, founded by the house of Bejar in 1533, and became its rector a few years later, perhaps in 1569, and he also intervened in a suit between the Augustinians and the Bejars.⁴ But the friendship appears to have been personal, and twice in the year 1567 Zúñiga appointed Luis de Leon Vice-Rector of the University during a few days' absence.⁵ Murmurings of envy came to

¹ Cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 293: 'delante de más de doscientos oyentes'; xi. 56: 'delante de más de trescientos oyentes'; *ibid.* x. 83: 'estaba el general lleno de gente'.

² 'habitaie pro miraculo': Fray Pedro de Aragon, *In Secundam Secundae Divi Thomae*, &c. (Salmanticae, 1584), t. i. Preface. See Mendez, *Vida* i. 179; Muñios Sáenz, *El Declamamos Ayer*, p. 65.

³ Pedro de Portocarrero who became member of the Royal Council, bishop, and Grand Inquisitor (1596), was no doubt an old friend of the Leon family. His family, related to the Villenas of Belmonte, was of Galician origin, and seems to have had poetical traditions. Lope de Porto Carreiro was a poet and a friend of the poet Archdeacon of Toro, Gonzalo Rodriguez. The latter was no doubt connected with Salamanca through the Rodriguez de las Varillas, who (Don Gonzalo Rodriguez and others) were powerful patrons in the fourteenth century. (An earlier Archdeacon of Toro, Diego Arias Maldonado, killed at Burgos by order of King Pedro in 1360, was buried in the Old Cathedral at Salamanca: with one of his family, Rodrigo Arias Maldonado, Luis de Leon had to do as executor of D. Ana Abarca's will, *Doc. inéd.* xi. 332.) As a young man Portocarrero had been Rector of Salamanca University in 1556-7. He evidently appreciated Luis de Leon's poetry and the odes *Virtud, hija del cielo, No siempre es poderosa* and *La cana y alta cumbre* were addressed to him, as well as the collected poems, the commentary *In Abdiam*, and the treatise *Delos Nombres de Cristo*, the dedication of which ends with a profession of Luis de Leon's devotion (*a cuyo servicio se enderezan todas mis cosas*), while in the dedication of his *In Abdiam* he says, 'neminem habeo neque cui magis debeam neque quem plura faciam'. Their close friendship continued to the end of Luis de Leon's life. Portocarrero was Governor of Galicia from 1571 to 1580; he was appointed to the Royal Council in 1580, to that of the Inquisition in 1585. He became Bishop of Calahorra in 1587, of Córdoba in 1594, and of Cuenca in 1596, and died, shortly after resigning the post of Grand Inquisitor, in 1600 (see A. M.—F.—[Morel Fatio], *Les Poésies de Fr. Luis de Leon* in *Bulletin Hispanique*, t. iii (1901), p. 80).

⁴ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 337.

⁵ See Getino, *Vida y Procesos*, pp. 149-52.

reinforce the enmity of the Dominicans, roused by Fray Luis's vigorous and successful canvassing at Chair elections. Zúñiga's successor as Rector, Don Juan de Almeida, was also friendly.¹ It was he who, with Francisco Sanchez and Alonso de Espinosa², asked Luis de Leon to be judge as to the rival merits of their versions of an ode of Horace. Fray Luis, while not evading criticism of the poems submitted to him, tactfully refused to award the apple, and, declaring that he preferred to be himself a mariner with three such comrades, sent them a version of his own, improvised for the purpose.³ Powerful friends such as Portocarrero and Zúñiga may have felt that Luis de Leon had some need of protection, for his lectures *De Fide*, delivered during the academic year 1567-8, had excited much adverse comment as well as admiration. In them, as earlier in the year 1566, he had dealt with the thorny subject of the text of the Vulgate, and had declared (1568), in the teeth of the Council of Trent, that certain passages might be rendered *melius, aptius, clarius, significantius, commodius, proprius*. The lectures were indeed a challenge, and his answer to the objection that neither theologians nor Inquisitors knew Hebrew: *Quod discant*⁴, must have sounded to them almost as heroic a remedy as Corneille's *Qu'il mourût*. He also suggested that the infallibility of theologians was not an article of faith.⁵ The question of the Vulgate text came up prominently

¹ Of him Luis de Leon says 'yo soy particular servidor del dicho D. Juan' (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 320).

² Evidently a different person from the Dominican friar of Guatemala who translated Ps. xlvii into Spanish verse. Perhaps he was a brother of the nun of Sancti Spiritus, Ana de Espinosa; possibly also a relative of the poetess Juana de Espinosa.

³ The story was first recorded in *Obras del Bachiller Francisco de la Torre* (Madrid, 1631), p. 143.

⁴ *Opera*, v. 322.

⁵ He presided at a meeting in the Schools at which his doctrine was examined and at which he frequently declared that the Vulgate contained no *sententia falsa* (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 268). See also *Doc. inéd.*, x. 68 and 374. To a fanatic of the Septuagint like Leon de Castro, Luis de Leon's broadmindedness must have been positively enraging. Thus Leon attributes great authority to the Chaldaic text (*De los Nombres*, i. 52), declares that a passage of the Vulgate is obscure, but very clear in the original (*ibid.*, p. 78), gives equal authority to the Syriac text and the Septuagint (*Opera*, vii. 439), or declares the excellence of the Septuagint and Vulgate in certain passages: 'latinus interpres optime graeca reddit' (*Opera*, iii. 472); 'rectissime et noster interpres latinus et LXX hoc loco verterunt' (*Opera*, i. 221).

about this time in another way. The Bible known as that of François Vatable († 1547) had been printed in Paris in 1545 and received a second edition in 1557. The well-known bookseller of Salamanca, Gaspar de Portonariis, wished in 1569 to publish a third edition, and the Council of the Inquisition submitted its text to a committee of Salamanca theologians, Bravo, Muñoz, Juan Gallo, Guevara, Luis de Leon, Martinez, Grajal, Leon de Castro, and Francisco Sancho, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, at whose house or in the chapel of the University hospital the committee held its meetings. Revision of the text proceeded slowly and the meetings were not peaceful. Leon de Castro considered the authority of the Septuagint supreme; Grajal and Martinez, supported by Luis de Leon, wished to refer to the Hebrew original. It was not the first time that Luis de Leon had come into conflict with Leon de Castro. A dispute as to lecture-rooms had occurred as early as 1562.¹ But it matters comparatively little when the first shock came. The two men were made not to agree. The *ingenium acre et capax* of Castro² could not help clashing with the *ingenium capax, acre* of Luis de Leon.³ Castro, selfish and overbearing, wished in Chacon's words (1576) to reign alone (*quedar solo en la monarquía*), and Fray Luis was roused to fury by tyranny in any form and loyally stood by his friends.⁴ The pupil of El Pinciano and master of El Brocense may have been domineering and narrow, and he held old-fashioned views as to the text of the Scriptures, but he was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar, and had some knowledge of Hebrew. His pertinacious industry was amazing, and his pedantry was only equalled by his violence. Those who wish to bring Castro bodily before them should read his pedantic preface to the edition of El Pinciano's *Refranes*⁵, which he published in 1555, addressed to the Marqués de Mondejar (Don Luis Hurtado de

¹ Vicente de la Fuente, *Biografía de León de Castro* (Madrid, 1860), p. 49 [= Morante, *Catalogus*, vii. 737].

² Antonio, *Bib. Nova*, ii. 14.

³ Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon, *De Agno Typico* (1604) *Lectori*.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 8: 'vuelve por los Maestros Grajal y Martinez, sustentándolos con gran pasión'; cf. x. 219, 227, 341.

⁵ *Refranes o Proverbios en Castellano . . . revistos y enmendados por el célebre y R. P. Mtro. Fr. Luis de Leon [sic] de gloriosa memoria, &c.*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1804, vol. i, pp. vii-xxxii.

Mendoza), or consult his commentary on Isaiah.¹ They need not read it all. It is a huge folio of 1021 pages, preceded by an interminable title-page, 11½ unnumbered pages of preliminary matter and four *Ad lectorem*, and a *disputatio* covering ninety-five pages, divided into fifty-five chapters.² This was the book on which the learned professor had spent so much time and trouble. It had cost him over a thousand ducats,³ and the long delay of the manuscript in the Inquisition censorship and the failure of the book to sell when it did appear in 1570 he attributed to Luis de Leon and the Jews. At one of the meetings of the Vatable committee Luis de Leon had in fact threatened to have the book burnt by the Inquisition, to which Leon de Castro replied that with the grace of God the fire would play about Fray Luis's ears and family.⁴ But the real reason of the failure was its size and cost: copies sent to Medina de Rioseco and elsewhere returned unsold, the booksellers of Salamanca told El Brocense.⁵ Leon de Castro, who lived with his sister and took in *pupilos*, had an Italian secretary named Giovanni Domenico or Juan Dominico Florencio, the most unfortunate of men, since to him it fell to copy out the greater part of the tremendous Commentary. With a touch of pardonable vindictiveness he told the Inquisition that it was not Luis de Leon but the price, the many Hebrew and Greek quotations, and the author's reputation as a grammarian

¹ *Commentaria | in Esaiam Prophetam | . . . adversus aliquot commentaria & interpretationes | quasdam ex Rabinorum scriniis compilatas | . . . Est opus totum argumentosum quo aduersus Iudaeorum nationem rebellem, &c. Salmanticae, Excudebat Mathias Gastius, MDLXX.* This commentary has been called *optimus*, and we may certainly add *maximus*.

² The following are some of their titles: cap. 17: *De Iudaeorum dolis*; 19 again *De Iudaeorum dolis*; 20 and 30 *Iudaeorum fraudes*; 29 *Doctissimos et sapientissimos fuisse LXX viros contra Iudaeos et Iudaizantes*; 46 *Impia et falsa ipsa Iudaeorum interpretatio*; 52 *Refelluntur Iudaizantes et haeretici*.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 311. That there need be no exaggeration in this is shown by the cost of production of Luis Zapata's *Carlos Famoso* (in 1566): 400,000 maravedis (= 1,066 ducats). See *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de Don Juan Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1915, p. 60. All the more that Castro's expenses included those of his journeys to Court on the book's account (cf. *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 309).

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 12: 'Y enojado de la porfia el dicho fray Luis después le dijo a este declarante que le habia de hacer quemar un libro que imprimia sobre Exsahías, y este declarante le respondió que con la gracia de Dios ni él ni su libro no prendería fuego ni podia, que primero prendería en sus orejas y linaje.'

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 299, 300.

that prevented the book's sale.¹ This secretary knew Luis de Leon and El Brocense; in the very year in which both bore witness in Luis de Leon's trial we find him contributing Latin verses to El Brocense's *De arte dicendi* (1573) and still smarting under a sense of his wrongs:

Omnibus hoc vitium est sinuosa volumina tantum
Condere, nec quid sint frugi habitura vident.²

The sorrows of his secretary would no doubt affect the formidable Professor of Greek but little; but could he have looked forward or back as he crossed the court to a meeting of the committee, and have realized that here three centuries later would stand a statue of Luis de Leon, who would so eclipse his fame as even to usurp his place on the title-page of the 1804 edition of the *Refranes*,³ or that he was playing the part of Pfefferkorn against Reuchlin—Leon de Castro in the part of a converted Jew!—then the heavy folios he carried might have clattered down on to the slabs and cobbles at his feet.⁴ But intent on his immediate

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 311.

² *Francisci Sancti Brocensis . . . Opera Omnia*. 4 vols., Genevæ, 1766, vol. i, p. 303. Florencio appears to have been a citizen of Rome, not Florence. At the head of Latin and Italian verses contributed to El Brocense's edition of Garcí Lasso (*Opera*, iv. 41) he is styled Romanus.

³ And in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iii. 984.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 11: 'llevó allí muchos libros ordinariamente . . . llevaba este declarante los dichos libros, que eran San Geronimo y Sant Agustín y San Crisostomo y Cirilo y otros Santos.' Leon de Castro was born about 1510 (but cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 8-9), perhaps in the region of El Vierzo. His latter years were full of troubles, but he remained fierce and indomitable to the end, and kept on denouncing Luis de Leon, embittering the life of Arias Montano, and publishing anti-Jew folios. To and fro he travelled in endless difficulties with the Censorship, and, still undaunted, threatened to go to Rome old as he was and *etiam cruribus effractis* (Preface to *Apologeticus*) to obtain permission to print. His *Apologeticus pro lectione apostolica et evangelica*, etc., appeared at Salamanca in 1585, and his *Commentaria in Oseam* posthumously in 1586, but he had another book in the press, attacking Luis de Leon, which remained unpublished. His character remained what it was when Professor Francisco Sanchez (not El Brocense) protested against his tyrannical method of examining pupils: 'se turban ante el Sr. Maestro y antes que se tornen en si los echa a palos de su casa' [1564]. Shortly before 1580 he left Salamanca, having accepted a Canonry at Valladolid, but in 1584 he figures on a Committee at Salamanca with Luis de Leon, El Brocense and others (P. U. González de la Calle, *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (1923), p. 224), and no doubt still had many opportunities of importuning El Brocense for laudatory verses (cf. *Francisci Sancti . . . Opera Omnia*, ii. 94 and iv. 11). His end was typical of his life, for as the violent old man was riding towards Astorga in October, 1585,

purpose of defeating the 'Jews' and all their works, his imagination was not active. His self-confidence, obstinacy, and obtuseness set poor Luis de Leon beside himself, so that he would call him repeatedly a *ruin hombre*.¹ At other times it was the other lion who gave the louder roar, and Castro in a rage would beat down all opposition.² Luis de Leon was often most conciliatory, and once at least caused the meeting to break up in general good humour.³ That the theologians had taken Castro's measure is shown by the fact that, when he retired sulkily like Achilles to his tent, they sent Guevara and another professor to his house to beseech him to attend the meetings, since they could do nothing without 'las letras', and it says much for the crassness of his self-conceit that it is none other than Leon de Castro himself who reports this to the Inquisition.⁴ Castro must have realized that it was easy to 'draw' Luis de Leon and was purposely exasperating. 'Is he now going to try to teach me Greek?' he exclaimed at one of the meetings.⁵ Revision of the Old Testament and part of the New was finished before the end of 1569,⁶ that of the whole Bible was not completed until 1571, and it did not appear in its third edition until 1584.

The quarrels of theologians are not always followed by a

he fell from his mule and broke his neck. His foolish, angry evidence before the Inquisition in 1571 and 1572 stamp the man. Francisco Sancho, in preface to Castro's 1570 *Commentaria*, wrote of him: 'expertus sum perspicacissimum hominis ingenium, tenacissimam memoriam, omnium et humanarum et divinarum disciplinarum miram praestantiam, linguae Graecae, Latinae atque Hebraicae peritiam raram . . . Novi praeterea et hominis animum candidum, vere Christianum et pium fidei catholicae ac religionis cultorem ac nimis si liceat dicere zelatorem.' It was this excess of zeal 'inspired by the Devil' that terrified Arias Montano, and not content with creating an uproar at Salamanca (see Pedro Fontidueñas' letter to Cardinal Hosius) penetrated even to the College of Cardinals at Rome. In earlier, less unhappy days Luis de Leon himself had praised Leon de Castro and his Commentary: *aptissime confutatus doctissimus Leo* (*De Spe, Opera*, v. 556), and Arias Montano also had praised him (as interpreter of the Scriptures), 'audit bene apud omnes, etiam si non omnia assecutus est' (letter to Zayas, November 9, 1568); but his learning was without discretion. It is perhaps to Castro that Luis de Leon refers in *In Abdiam* (*Opera*, iii. 169) as *vocum collector nescio quis*, and in his trial he constantly speaks of him as a calumnious fool.

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 255.

² Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 257, 276, 279, 288, 289.

³ 'Volvíme a él riendo y dijele: "alomenos hoy no podrá decir sino que le tengo bien contento," y así con risa y muy en paz y amistad nos levantamos todos.' (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 347.)

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 12.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 276.

⁶ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 340.

renewal of love, and Luis de Leon left enemies behind him when on February 11, 1570, furnished with forty ducats for the road, he set out for Madrid, on the mission entrusted to him by the University ten days earlier, as the most distinguished holder of one of the smaller Chairs, to obtain an increase of salary in these Chairs.¹ It must have been known at Salamanca that the King had left Madrid on the 13th of the preceding month, but it was hoped that the matter might be settled favourably by the Council. This proved not to be the case, but Fray Luis at Madrid received a letter from the Rector of Salamanca University, Don Diego Lopez de Zúñiga, authorizing him to proceed to Córdoba, where the Court then was.² He set out a day or two before Palm Sunday. It was seven and a half years since he had ridden across the wide plains of La Mancha on his way South. The March sun was less oppressive than that of September, and as he could not transact business with the King during either Holy Week or the following Easter Week he proceeded slowly, or rather he paused on his journey during Holy Week: perhaps he pressed on to spend it at Granada, anxious about his mother in those unquiet days; possibly he turned aside to Belmonte.³ At about the same time of year, five years later, Santa Teresa

¹ The Chair of Durando at Valladolid at this time was raised from 6,000 to 10,000 maravedis by a royal decree signed at Madrid on July 19, 1571, 'porque, como nos era notorio, todas las cosas de pocos tiempos a esta parte estaban muy subidas' (see M. Alcocer Martínez, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, vol. ii (1919), p. 176).

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *La Universidad de Salamanca y Fr. Luis de León (Datos para la historia)* in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniiano*, vol. vi, Julio de 1916, pp. 15, 23, 24-5. The Rector's letter was addressed 'al mui mag^{no} i mui R^{do} Sor el Padre m^o f. luis de leon' on Sunday, March 12. The Rector also wrote in favour of Fray Luis's mission to his nephew the Duke of Medina, to Cardinal Espinosa, President of the Council, and to Ruy Gomez, Prince of Eboli.

³ The stages were marked out by statute: 'andando cada un dia el terreno que manda el statuto y aun mas', says Fray Luis of his 1570 journey from Salamanca to Madrid. He proceeds: 'sahó de Madnd jueves o viernes antes de la dominica de Ramos hazia Cordoba. E que porque aquella Semana Santa e la siguiente de pascua no era tiempo en que se tratan negocios con su magestad ni con los señores del su consejo, como es notorio, se fue despacio, deteniendose en el camino aquellos dias santos, como se abia de detener en Cordoba sin negociar, esperando el tiempo de los negocios. E que estuvo en Cordoba el domingo de Casimodo y el lunes siguiente començo a tratar los negocios de la Universidad, en los quales estubo desde aquel dia fasta veynte y tres de abril en que se le dio y libro la probysion' (*ibid.*, p. 22).

made the journey to Córdoba. She went in a stifling covered cart. Riding on a mule was pleasanter and quicker, but the inns were the same, of one of which she says, 'I thought it better to rise and set forth, for the sun of the open country seemed to me preferable to that wretched room.'¹ They must now have been especially crowded with adventurers of all kinds owing to the war in the Alpujarras. On Low Sunday, in all the glory of an Andalusian Spring, Luis de Leon was at Córdoba, and in spite of ill-health lost no time in devoting himself to the business in hand. He saw the King, who on April 23 signed a favourable but not definitive decree. Luis de Leon did not accompany the Court to Seville, where the King was received with great rejoicing on May 1, but left Córdoba at once, on April 24, on the ten days' return journey to Salamanca.² When he had ridden half the distance (at Alcazar de San Juan?) the appeal of the relative coolness of the summer months at Belmonte, or perhaps pressing family affairs, proved too strong, and he sent on his *mozo* to Salamanca with a letter pleading ill-health, and inquiring if it was the wish of the University that he should return at once.³ The answer, received at Belmonte on May 15, was in the affirmative, but Fray Luis did not return until the beginning of term. He had only been laid up during two days of his absence. In July he was at Madrid (where he saw Fray Francisco Sancho), evidently on the same business of the lesser Chairs.⁴ The fact that he had not secured a more absolute decree no doubt made the University less inclined to view his protracted

¹ Gabriela Cunninghame Graham, *Santa Teresa* (1894), vol. II, p. 93.

² *Archivo Histórico*, loc. cit., p. 22: 'a veynte y quatro de abril partio de Cordoba e vino para Salamanca'; 'diez dias mas para venir desde Cordoba aqui'. It is not certain, but not unlikely, that Luis de Leon knew Seville at some time probably between 1544 and his father's death in 1562. The epithet which he gives the city (*Opera*, iii. 159), 'Hispani . . . nobilissima urbe', in so personal a writer almost implies personal acquaintance.

³ *Archivo Histórico*, loc. cit.: 'vino para Salamanca sin rodear mas que solamente seys leguas o siete'; the letter of Don Francisco de Córdoba, the new Rector of Salamanca, is addressed on May 10 'Al muy mag^{oo} y muy R^{do} Sr^e el padre maestro fray luis de leon, mi Señor, Belmonte' (*ibid.*, p. 26).

⁴ *Documentos inéditos*, vol. x, p. 199: 'estaba yo en Cordoba . . . y todo aquel año [1570] desde once de hebrero hasta fin de setiembre estuve ausente de Salamanca . . . por el mes de julio en Madrid me contó el maestro Francisco Sancho'; x. 524: 'ansi el maestro Sancho como yo estuvimos ausentes hasta el Sant Lucas del año de setenta.'

travels with favour. At a meeting of May 8, after the royal *cédula* had been read, it protested that Luis de Leon had exceeded his instructions in going to Córdoba, determined to recall him, and at first refused to pay his expenses beyond Madrid. At a meeting of June 2, however, it accorded him the *mes de gracia*.¹ On November 6 he presented his accounts to the University.² Early in 1571 small-pox was raging at Salamanca and all who could do so left the city. Luis de Leon again went to Belmonte, where he spent the first two and a half months of the year.³ Small-pox was not the only enemy Luis de Leon had to fear at Salamanca. In Fray Bartolomé de Medina he had an opponent more formidable even, although less open, than Leon de Castro. He was indeed a man of a very different stamp, as cold and calculating as Castro was impetuous; his smooth, regular handwriting, strong and clear,⁴ contrasts with the scholarly but angular handwriting of Castro. A learned theologian, as became the successor of Mancio in the Prima Chair of Theology at Salamanca, he was more plausible than frank or sincere. Even Santa Teresa, who ever charmed so wisely, found Medina deaf to her voice. She had chosen him (as she often chose possible enemies) for her confessor at Salamanca, and gradually vanquished his surly opposition to her foundations. When the Duchess of Alba sent her a trout she forwarded it post haste to Salamanca for Fray Bartolomé's dinner at San Esteban; but he was by nature implacable, and in a letter of 1574 we find the saint referring to him as none too friendly (*aunque no sea tan amigo*).⁵ He was the champion of his

¹ *Archivo Histórico*, loc. cit., pp. 16-17, 19; Getino, *Vida*, pp. 155 et seq.

² The fixed amount for each day of travel was two ducats (*Archivo Histórico*, p. 23). On February 6 he had received 15,000 *maravedis* (forty ducats), on April 3 he was granted another 15,000, and on March 10 was sent a further thirty ducats by the *correo de a pie*, Pedro de Novoa (who received seventeen *reales*: 11 *reales* = 1 ducat), and 300 *reales* on May 10 (*ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, 23).

³ *Documentos inéditos*, x. 524. At the end of May 1571 Luis de Leon with Grajal, Martínez, Guevara, and Fray Mancio was present at the examination of Zumel for his degree in 'la capilla de Señora Santa barbola' (*Revista de Archivos* (1919), p. 580). He was ill during all the following summer (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 99, x. 185).

⁴ 'Pocos hombres de gran entendimiento vemos que hacen buena letra' says his contemporary Huarte (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, t. lxx, p. 449).

⁵ See also *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, t. liii, p. 567: 'el padre Fray Bartolomé de Medina, luz de las escuelas de Salamanca, aunque al principio que oia hablar

Order in canvassing Chairs at Salamanca,¹ and his own lectures were always well attended. When in 1566 he began a course of lectures at San Esteban the Dominicans succeeded in obtaining so large an audience that the University became jealous and Luis de Leon secured from the Rector, Don Pedro de Portocarrero, an order forbidding lay members of the University to attend.² Earlier in the same year he had come into conflict with Medina on the subject of the substitution of Fray Mancio in the Prima Chair of Theology from June to September.³ Luis de Leon contended that Medina, not being a professor, must yield to him the post for which he had been selected by Fray Mancio. Portocarrero's predecessor as Rector, Don Diego de Avalos, delayed the decision, and finally on August 12 decided against Luis de Leon. That very evening an Augustinian friar, Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz, in Luis de Leon's name, presented to the Rector a long and vigorously worded document in which he appealed to 'his Majesty and the President and judges of his most high and royal Council'. The Rector considered himself insulted and tore up the appeal.⁴ He even declared that if Luis de Leon were a layman he would take proceedings against him.⁵ A royal provision of August 24 was peculiarly crushing to Medina, as it spoke of 'a certain fray Bartolomé de Medina',⁶ and on September 23 Luis de Leon's appeal was allowed, and it was decreed that the Rector must observe the statute which gave the pre-

de ella murmuraba de sus cosas, después que la conversó la amó mucho y la favoreció y estimó'. (Letter of Bishop Yepes to Luis de Leon.) Born at Medina de Rioseco in 1527, he professed at the Salamanca convent of San Esteban on November 26, 1546, and died at the age of 53 in December, 1580. He published various works of scholastic theology. When he took his degree of Licentiate, Luis de Leon says that he pressed him so hard that Fray Mancio had to interfere (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 260).

¹ 'En lo que tuvo singularísimo lucimiento fué en las oposiciones de las cátedras.' (Fray Justo Cuervo, *Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*. 3 vols., Salamanca, 1914-15 (1916), vol. i, p. 560.)

² *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, vol. iii, pp. 487-90.

³ See *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 259.

⁴ Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Sobre una sustitución en Salamanca*, in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano* (Sept.-Oct., 1921, pp. 140-56, and Nov.-Dec., 1921, pp. 293-308), p. 296; J. González de Tejada, *Vida* (1863), pp. 30-33; *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 323-6.

⁵ *Archivo*, p. 297.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 300 ('un frai bartolome de medina, no siendo catredatico').

ference to professors.¹ Medina had been legally represented by Juan de Guzman.

Three years later, in 1569, Medina was appointed to substitute Fray Juan Gallo in his lectures when the latter was sent to Rome, and Luis de Leon duly entered a protest,² although Gallo was not Prima Professor of Theology. According to Salinas and others it was held that no one would successfully compete with Luis de Leon for a Chair of Theology.³ No wonder that he felt the eyes of the Dominicans upon him.⁴ He had also incurred the enmity of the Hieronymites. They were very anxious that the Portuguese, Frei Heitor Pinto, whose works are almost as dear to lovers of the Portuguese language as those of Luis de Leon to lovers of Castilian, should obtain a Chair of Theology at Salamanca. Fray Luis may have seen in this an attack on the prospects of his friend Grajal, who had previously come into collision with the Hieronymites. At all events he disapproved of a new Chair⁵ being provided unnecessarily by the University and uncompromisingly opposed Frei Heitor's claims to it, and supported Grajal against him as substitute for the Chair of Bible. It may be observed in passing that Pinto,⁶ to whom tradition later assigns the words 'King Philip may put me in Castille, but never Castille in me', was very far from showing any such aversion in 1568. He sent to Luis de Leon offering to give him a written engagement that if he were granted a *partido* he would not stand against him for the Chair of Bible when it became vacant; but Fray Luis would accept no such compromise, and Pinto left Salamanca in dudgeon.⁷ Pinto had come with a re-

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 302.

² Fray Alonso Getino, *Vida y Procesos*, p. 145; *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, iii. 441-3.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 301, 303, 312.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 257: 'teniendo siempre sobre mi los ojos de los frailes de la Orden de Santo Domingo por las competencias y diferencias que entre nosotros ha habido.'

⁵ 'un partido por que leyese Biblia' (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 262).

⁶ Born about 1528 at Covilham in Beira, he entered the Hieronymite Order in 1543, and died in Spain at the monastery of Císla near Toledo (c. 1584?). His masterpiece is the *Imagem da Vida Christã* (1563; Second Part 1572), which has been often translated.

⁷ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 262; xi. 263 ('se fué afrentado de Salamanca'). Cf. xi. 277-9, 320-1. Luis de Leon said that a beggar and two or three Portuguese students had carried round a blank sheet of paper and induced students to sign it.

commendation from the King and the Royal Council, and the Hieronymites may well have complained to King Philip¹ as well as to Fray Diego Lopez, Prior of the Augustinian Convent at Salamanca. In his own Order Luis de Leon also made enemies by his outspokenness, his Castilian frankness ('yo soy claro', he says). He had the bad habit of calling a fool (such as the subtle doctor dunce Hector Rodriguez) a fool, and a liar a liar and not a musical instrument. With a different Rodriguez, or Zúñiga, who, unlike the subtle doctor, was an Augustinian, he came into conflict again six years after their former differences at Salamanca and Valladolid. As they went for a walk at Madrigal in October, 1568, Fray Diego had boasted of his influence at Rome through a merchant and a cardinal, and how he had sent a treatise entitled *Manera para aprender todas las ciencias* to the Pope; and Fray Luis had answered that he could have wished that the treatise sent to so high a place as a sample of his talent had been more substantial.² Earlier, in 1563 at Dueñas, Luis de Leon as Definidor had had occasion to inflict a penance on Fray Diego, in whose mind all these things must have rankled when in November and December, 1572, he came to bear witness against Luis de Leon, although he is careful to say that his evidence is not actuated by ill-will. The poor man was a victim of scruples where the conduct of others was concerned. With his cousin Fray Gabriel de Montoya, Luis de Leon was not on more friendly terms. At the Chapter held at Dueñas in May, 1569, the retiring Provincial, Fray Francisco Serrano, intended to secure the election of Montoya as his successor, but Fray Luis defeated his object by imposing a more secret manner of voting.³ Montoya had considered his election as certain—notes of what he intended to do as Provincial were found in his cell—and neither Rodriguez nor Montoya were of a forgiving disposition.⁴ It was at Madrigal also that Luis de Leon had

¹ Cf. J. González Tejada, *Vida* (1863), p. 26: 'Su majestad manda que se le diese informacion de lo que en esta universidad a pasado acerca del negocio del padre Hctor Pinto.' (July 13, 1568.)

² Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 67, 373 et seq.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 334.

⁴ Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 345, where Fray Pedro de Rojas declares that Rodriguez 'es recio de condicion y algo vengativo'; and xi. 346, where Fray Pedro Xarez says the same of Montoya: 'es hombre vengativo'. Both Rojas and Xarez were men of the highest character and authority.

made an enemy by securing the dismissal of the Vicar of the Augustinian nuns when sent by the Provincial to visit their convent.¹ In the convent of Sancti Spiritus at Salamanca he had both friends and enemies, for he had given practical help to D. Isabel Osorio, D. Maria de Ovalle, D. Juana de la Mota, and other nuns in their resistance to the admission of D. Teresa de Acuña.² Luis de Leon in various passages of his works speaks strongly against the intervention of monks in the private affairs of others. He himself as spiritual director in one of the leading families of Salamanca, the Abarcas, had found that such intervention might be anxious work on both sides. He had been charged by D. Ana Abarca in her will to provide an income for a member of her household, Francisco de Almansa, the same who was subsequently sent to arrest Luis de Leon, and this clause of the will he maintained in the teeth of all opposition.³ Thus we find him everywhere uncompromising in the cause of justice, and supporting the weak against the powerful, and as a natural consequence making enemies in high places. But we must not take a distorted view of all the enmities he mentions in his trial; we must remember that he was using the chief weapon to the hand of a prisoner of the Inquisition and attempting to prove that accusations against him might be prompted by malice.

It might well seem to Luis de Leon that he would never have leisure for quiet literary work, yet the hours snatched from sleep among his books, after his busy days and after the task of preparing his lectures and other duties were over, must have been hours of happiness unalloyed. His convent cell was spacious, consisting of a large room with a fireplace,⁴ used as study and

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 265.

² *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 338: 'con consejo y con trabajo y con dineros que prestó en cantidad.'

³ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 332 et seq. For Almansa see also *Doc. inéd.*, x. 248 and xi. 315.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 201. He likes to describe a wood fire (cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 239, ii. 235, and *Opera*, vi. 106). M. Adolphe Coster supposes that, as Fray Luis became Rector of the Augustinian College of San Guillermo before his imprisonment, it is there and not in the Augustinian Convent that we must place his library. It is however more probable that he retained his convent cell and did not transport the whole of his library. If his library was at San Guillermo, in the care of Fray Pedro de Uceda, who had succeeded him as Rector and was a personal friend, there would be no reason for him to fear

library, and an inner *alcoba*. It was the study of a true scholar of the Renaissance. Shelves full of books confronted one on either side as one entered. A large table, set in front of the window, had shelves, partly divided into pigeon-holes, on both sides of a looking-glass. They were filled with books and papers: a Concordance in folio bound in calf, the works of St. Hilary in boards and leather, the *De optimo genere interpretandi* of Arias Montano's friend and enemy, fierce Bishop Lindanus, a volume or series of volumes entitled *Biblioteca Santa* in boards and calf, the works of St. Thomas in boards and sheepskin, a small octavo Pindar in Greek and Latin, bound in cardboard and black leather, with gilt edges; on the top lay a great folio Greek dictionary. A large writing-desk, perhaps on the left as one entered, also had shelves, for small books, larger books lying above them. Here was the much discussed Bible of Vatable in boards and black, with gilt edges; the works of St. Augustine, a Commentary on the Pentateuch in cardboard and calf, Francisco de Vergara's Greek Grammar (1537) and another grammar by Thomas Linacre. The works of St. Augustine were with other books of Christian doctrine, including Fray Luis de Granada's *De Oracion*. The tables were covered with papers, note-books, books and letters—Titelman's Commentaries on the *Psalms* and on the *Book of Job*, Robert Estienne's Greek New Testament, bound in cardboard and black leather, a Hebrew Bible in parchment with silk ribbons; manuscripts sent for him to read, lecture notes, letters from Arias Montano and other friends. Books were everywhere, in orderly confusion, on the tables, at the head of the bed in the inner *alcoba* (a Commentary on the *Ethics* of Aristotle by Pedro de Vitoria, a Commentary on the *Psalms*), in chests and on shelves. The works of Aristotle in Greek, bound in yellow sheepskin, stood on the shelves to the right as one entered the cell; on those on the left were the works of St. Justin in Greek, bound in sheepskin, with red edges and title in Greek lettering; the works of Homer, in Greek and Latin, similarly bound, were on the same shelves. Elsewhere were the

the ravages of careless friars (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 248). In a letter of June 18, 1590, he says 'No tengo cosa segura en la celda, porque entran en ella varias personas'.

works of St. Leo bound in parchment, the *Prose di Monsignor Bembo* (perhaps the 1540 edition), a folio Sophocles in Greek bound in black calf, commentaries on the Psalms, Hebrew Grammars, including that of Martin Martinez de Cantalapiedra—probably the Salamanca edition of 1571—a Hebrew Bible in black leather, a Bible in Hebrew and Chaldean, which had formerly belonged to Arias Montano's friend Martín Perez de Ayala, Archbishop of Valencia. Copies of Horace and of Virgil one might come across anywhere. The huge Commentary on Isaiah by Leon de Castro was conspicuous by its absence.¹ Clothes were kept in chests beneath the large table and in a chest which also served as a bench. There was at least one locked chest of white pine full of papers. But his pride was in his library. Among his treasures were two most ancient manuscripts of the Bible.² Arias Montano, like him a fervent book-lover, would send him the latest publications of the Plantin press; Martin Martínez would keep him informed of any new Latin or Greek volumes that had reached Salamanca in order that he might buy them.³ His father had given him considerable sums for this purpose and charged Miguel de Leon to pay him 12,000 maravedis annually. This sum had, however, not been paid since 1569 (the remarks of Fray Luis on March 13, 1572, and of his correspondent in Granada on March 27 probably refer to this debt), and at the time of his arrest Fray Luis owed Lucas de Junta, bookseller and publisher of Salamanca, a sum of over 120 ducats (45,474 maravedis).⁴ In November, 1575, he declares that his brother Miguel owes him 22,000 ducats.⁵

¹ Reusch, *Fray Luis de Leon und die Spanische Inquisition*, p. 48, wrongly includes it, although it may have figured among his books after his trial, as he bought or wished to buy it when in prison for his defence (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 146).

² *Opera*, i. 492: 'in duobus exemplaribus manuscriptis qui apud me sunt.' In the same passage he refers to the Bible printed at Naples in 1476 by Matthias of Olmütz (Hain, no. 3059): 'quod Neapoli ante centum annos est impressum'; *Opera*, v. 300: 'ex codice vetustissimo manuscripto qui apud me est.' He refers (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 174) to a work of Francis Titelman, *De veteri interprete*, as rare in Spain, 'libro que ya apenas le hay entre nosotros', and to Hebrew Bibles printed by Bomberg at Venice, *Op.* v. 266.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 227.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 51. Plantin sent an agent yearly to Salamanca, and many books came from France: 'vienen cada dia algunas balas de libros de Francia y otras partes' (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 390).

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 196. Miguel had not paid him the 12,000 maravedis left to

Besides the books that he was able to purchase he had several copyists at work for him in his insatiable curiosity,¹ and even at one time had the assistance of an Arab.²

Clearly he had friends as well as enemies, but the group of poets among whom he was the leading spirit, which answered to the group that gathered round Herrera at Seville, and to which El Brocense and Luis de Leon himself allude (the latter in his dedication to Quiroga and perhaps in the ode to Salinas),³ was rather calculated to yield him spiritual delights than to protect him against the wrath of Castro and the Dominicans. Members of this group of friends and poets were Salinas, El Brocense, Grajal, Grial, Portocarrero, Arias Montano, Diego de Loarte, Pedro Chacon, Alonso de Espinosa, and Juan de Almeida. The celebrated scholar of Extremadura, the outspoken and eccentric Francisco Sanchez (1523-1600), Professor of Rhetoric and of Greek at Salamanca, is a connecting link. He made the acquaintance of Luis de Leon in 1567 or 1568, was a close friend of Grajal,⁴ addressed one of his works to Portocarrero,⁵ and was in literary relations with Chacon,⁶ Grial, and probably with

Luis by his father since 1569 (*ibid.*, xi. 52). In 1572, before his arrest, he was thinking of going to Granada to see his brother on the subject (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 131, 139). Speaking of differences between brothers he says: 'no sé por qué manera casi siempre acontece que ningunos se conciertan menos que ellos' (*Exposición de Job*, i. 4). In 1590 he was engaged in a suit with the heirs of Cornelio Bonard, late publisher and bookseller at Salamanca, and on January 25, 1591, Julio de Junta agreed to pay him 1,000 reales for the 2,800 owed him by Bonard (see Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, vol. ii, pp. 454-5).

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 471 ('mis escribientes'); cf. x. 475 ('hicela sacar a un escribiente').

² *Opera*, ii. 34: 'Haec cum scribebam didici a quodam Arabe cuius utebar opera'.

³ If we read *amigos*, as in Quevedo's text, instead of *amigo*. To Quiroga he speaks of himself as 'luci redditus et amicissimorum mihi hominum consuetudine fruens' (*Opera*, i. 112); cf. ii. 82: 'amici, quorum ego et iudicia plurimi facio et voluntatibus libentissime obsequor.'

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 297: El Brocense, who appeared as a witness for the defence on January 27, 1573, says 'que conoce a fray Luis de Leon, maestro en sacra teología en la universidad de Salamanca, de cinco años a esta parte.' Cf. p. 298: 'Oyó muchas veces al maestro Grajal quel dicho maestro Leon y fray Luis andaban picados', and p. 299: 'fray Luis de Leon juró delante del dicho maestro Grajal y de otros que no había leído del libro del dicho maestro Leon sino un cuaderno.'

⁵ *Francisci Sancti . . . Opera Omnia* (Genevae, 1766), vol. iii, p. 382.

⁶ Chacon on leaving Salamanca for Rome left the MS. of his history of

Felipe Ruiz. Thus it becomes apparent who constituted the group of 'most learned men, my intimate friends', who had decided to print a critical edition of Virgil's works.¹ When Grajal published his commentary on Micah,² El Brocense sent him some Latin verses beginning *Carmine te vario celebrent* and expressing the hope that he would give to the world many more important works which he knew Grajal had ready:

An magnum praestare putas post tempora longa
 Michaeam parvum si dederis populis?
 An docti periere, rogo, monumenta laboris
 Quae vidi in pluteis multa latere tuis? ³

It was Grajal and Salinas who were Luis de Leon's intimate friends. The account of his friendship with the professor of whom El Brocense expected so much is very attractive. They had been rivals, but Luis de Leon had evidently very favourably impressed the sincere and truthful Grajal, and when Luis de Leon a second time became candidate for a Chair he did his best secretly to assist him.⁴ When Luis de Leon heard of this he was naturally grateful, and the friendship thus formed ripened quickly. Luis de Leon constituted himself his protector, explaining his views when misunderstood during a lecture and protecting him against the onslaughts of Leon de Castro. His defence did not slacken when they were both in the Valladolid prison, for he told the Inquisitors that Grajal was one of the most straightforward men

Salamanca University with El Brocense (see P. U. González de la Calle, *Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas* (1923), pp. 108-111).

¹ *Francisci Sandtii . . . Opera Omnia*, ii. 177: 'Constituerant viri quidam doctissimi mihi que amicissimi ut quam correctissima Virgilii opera excuderentur.' (El Brocense, *Lectori*, in the 1591 ed. of his edition of Virgil's *Eclogues*.) Cf. Foquel's dedication of the edition to Canon Grial (*ibid.*, p. 152).

² *In Micheam Commentaria* (Salmanticae, 1570).

³ *Francisci Sancti . . . Opera Omnia*, iv. 9: *Ad Casparem Grajarium, Sancti Iacobi de Pennalva in Ecclesia Asturicensi Abbatem*. Grajal appears to have been the form generally used for the more correct Graxar.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 326: 'Es verdad que el Maestro Grajal ha sido y es mi amigo [amigo mio e non della ventura], y querelle yo bien comenzó de que habiendo sido primero competidores en la cátedra de Biblia, que él llevó, en las demás oposiciones que yo hice, sin sabello yo, trató en mi favor con tanto cuidado y con tan gran encarecimiento de buenas palabras [Jew helping Jew, would think the Inquisitors] que cuando lo supe quedé obligado a tratalle, y del trato resultó conocer en él uno de los hombres de más sanas y limpias entrañas y más sin doblez que yo he tratado.'

he had ever known.¹ Luis de Leon would write to Arias Montano in Flanders on Grajal's behalf when the latter wished to buy books there and helped him in other ways. It was perhaps owing to Grajal that Luis de Leon was involved in enmity with the Hieronymite Order, and it was certainly largely owing to his protection of Grajal and Martínez that he subsequently found himself in the cells of the Inquisition. Grajal, born about 1530, at Villalon, had studied at Salamanca, Louvain, and Paris, but he was a 'New Christian', and thus an easy prey for Leon de Castro. With Martín Martínez Luis de Leon was on less intimate terms, but Martínez, who was a few years his senior, would carefully watch the Salamanca bookshops for any new books which might appeal to Luis de Leon. The son of a chemist of the little agricultural town of Cantalapiedra, between Salamanca and Madrigal, Martínez obtained the proprietary Chair of Hebrew at Salamanca in 1561, and took his degrees of Licentiate and Master of Theology in November and December of that year. His principal work, the *Hypotyposeon Theologicarum . . . libri x*, appeared at Salamanca in 1565,² but his *Institutiones Hebraicae* were printed as early as 1548³ at Paris, with a new edition at Salamanca in 1571.

Luis de Leon's relations with Francisco de Salinas (1514?-1590) were safer, and perhaps even more intimate than his friendship with Grajal.⁴ They began in the year 1567, when Salinas was about fifty and Luis de Leon forty. During the next five years Luis de Leon was frequently to be seen at Salinas's house, discussing questions of poetry and art⁵ or listening to his music, to those strains which so deeply affected those who had the

¹ Ibid.

² Luis de Leon refers to the *Hypotyposes in Opera*, i. 46.

³ *Institutiones* | in linguam sanctam Martino Martineze Cantapetrense | autore (Parisiis, 1548). It is a small book of 114 pages, numbered backwards.

⁴ Cf. Jacques Auguste de Thou (1554-1617), *Historia sui temporis*, lib. xcix. See *infra*, p. 205.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 302: 'dijo que conoce al dicho maestro fray Luis de Leon de trato e conversacion de seis años a esta parte . . . Dijo ques de edad de cinquenta y cinco años, poco mas o menos, é que era amigo del dicho fray Luis de Leon, el cual venia muchas veces a su casa deste testigo, y oyó deste testigo la especulativa, y comunicaba con este testigo cosas de poesía y otras cosas del arte.' As Salinas's evidence was taken at Salamanca on January 17, 1573, and he succeeded Juan de Oviedo in the Chair of Music on January 21, 1567, it is possible that Luis de Leon had been of service to him in obtaining the Chair.

privilege of hearing them, as the chronicler Ambrosio de Morales (nephew of the Greek scholar Hernan Perez de Oliva) records,¹ and which inspired Luis de Leon with one of his noblest poems, that Ode to Salinas, *El aire se serena*, which seems built of suffering as well as beauty, and was probably composed after, not before, the poet's long imprisonment, perhaps, as M. Adolphe Coster suggests,² on the occasion of the publication of Salinas's great work, *De Musica*, in 1577.³ Their close friendship must certainly have continued until Salinas's death in 1590. In 1582 they sat on the same committee to determine the claims of El Brocense as to his Grammar. How cordially would they agree that music is an 'honesta voluptas' and makes men both better and more wise, rousing them to contemplation of things celestial,⁴ and that it was a pity music should not share in the revival of the arts recently evident in Italy, Spain, Germany, and even among the 'Britanni illi toto orbe divisi'!⁵ Blind from infancy,⁶ Salinas went to Salamanca, and then spent twenty-three years studying music and literature in Italy, where he received a benefice from the Viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Alba. It was only

¹ Nic. Ant. Bib. Nov. i. 473: 'ut viderim ego eum tam cantando quam instrumentum aliquod musicum pulsando in audientium animis mutata modulatione, diversissimas imo contrarias laetitiae ac moeroris, incitati et quieti animi affectiones brevi tempore atque ea vi et impetu ingenerare ut iam mirari desinam ea quae Pithagoras musica perfecisse dicitur.' The notes of those quaint little 'organs', still preserved in Salamanca Cathedral (the larger one is in the chapel of S. Bartolomé), were extraordinarily true. Moreover, as Luis de Leon remarks, genius might triumph over its tools: 'artifex, quantum perfectior est et praestantior, eis instrumentis ineptioribus et minus bonis aequae bene atque alius artifex [sc. melioribus instrumentis] operatur' (*Opera*, iv. 389). The player had only to stand up to reach and pull out the stops (*lleno, aflautado, tapado*, &c.) at the side.

² *Revue Hispanique*, June 1919, vol. xlv, p. 212.

³ *Francisci Salinae Burgensis | Abbatis Sancti Pancratii | de Rocca Scaligna in regno Neapolitano et in Academia Salmanticaensi | Musicae Professoris, de Musica libri septem, in quibus eius doctrinae | veritas tam quae ad Harmoniam quam quae ad Rhythmum | pertinet, iuxta sensus acrationis iudicium ostenditur & demonstratur* (Salmanticae. Excudebat Mathias Gastius MDLXXVII). [16 unnd. pp. + 438 + 18 of summary and index and one of errata.]

⁴ Salinas, *De Musica* (1577), Preface. ('Religiosiores autem nos a musica reddi manifestum est, valde enim erigimur ad rerum coelestium contemplationem').

⁵ *Ibid.* The English scholars then best known abroad were More and Linacre.

⁶ *Ibid.* He says that owing to his blindness he had devoted himself to music from his infancy ('ab ipsa prope infantia'). He here says that he was blind from the age of ten, but Chacon, who knew him personally, says *natura*.

after an absence of nearly thirty years that he returned to Salamanca and became Professor of Music in the University. Luis de Leon probably made the acquaintance of Pedro Chacon (c. 1525-81) in Salinas's house before Chacon went to Rome at about the time of Fray Luis's imprisonment.¹ Juan de Grial, too, one thinks, must have taken part occasionally in their discussions on poetry, concerning the old style and the new, the Castilian metres and the Italian metres of the *dolce stil nuovo*, as we infer from an allusion in Luis de Leon's poem *Recoge ya en el seno*. He was Canon of Calahorra, the see to which Portocarrero was translated in 1587. He continued the official edition of the works of San Isidro, at which Antonio Agustín, Antonio de Covarrubias, and Alvar Gomez de Castro had worked, and which at last appeared in two volumes in 1599, wrote a commentary on part of Virgil,² and contributed Latin verses for the first work published by Luis de Leon,³ and an enthusiastic *censura* for the third edition of his *In Cantica Canticorum*.⁴ To him Luis de Leon addressed (in the autumn of 1578) the beautiful poem on autumn (*Recoge ya*) and his imitation of Horace, Od. II. 12 (*Al canto y lira mia*), and dedicated the last work published in his lifetime, *De utriusque agni typici atque veri immolationis legitimo tempore* (1590), the final words of which name Grial for the last time.⁵ He shared Luis de Leon's love of solitude, books, and the country. Writing to the official *Corrector*, Vazquez del Marmol, in 1594, he says that they could never live together 'por ser vmd.

¹ See N. Antonio, s.v. Petrus Chacon: 'Hinc [from Salamanca] amicorum consilio, praesertim Francisci Salinae, Burgensis, musicae artis in eadem academia Salmantina oculatissimi, quantumvis natura caeci, praeceptoris, Romam se contulit.' Cf. V. Espinel, *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, Rel. I. Descanso xi: 'Vi al abad Salinas, el ciego, el más docto varon en música especulativa que ha conocido la antigüedad.'

² 'In Virgili nescio quam partem operum commentarius Grialis fuit manuscriptus in bibliotheca Sanctii Hurtado de la Puente iudicis curiae Hispaniensis' (N. Antonio). Juan Vazquez del Marmol quotes from his MS. commentary *In Terentium Maurum* (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iv. 941). See also El Brocense, *Opera*, ii. 152, 177.

³ Fifty lines beginning 'Felices animae quae nunc ad oscula prima'.

⁴ 'His explanationibus nihil meo iudicio dedit haec aetas neque sanctius neque elegantius', &c. (Madrid, January 30, 1587).

⁵ p. 29: 'Quae tu, Grial, qui et iudicio et doctrina praestas, qualia sint iudicabis.' This work in the seventeenth century was quoted by Marquez in *El Gobernador Christiano*, lib. i, cap. xiii, 2nd ed. (1614), p. 72, and criticized by the French Jesuit Gabriel Daniel in 1695.

urbanísimo y yo rústico'.¹ Another name immortalized by Luis de Leon is that of Diego de Loarte (or Olarte), Archdeacon of Ledesma, who had known him at Salamanca from 1559, when Loarte was twenty.² To him was addressed the magnificent 'Noche Serena' beginning *Cuando contemplo el cielo*.

Unfortunately one of Luis de Leon's most intimate friends, although cited as a witness for the defence,³ does not appear in the trial, and thus remains little more than an immortal name, immortalized by Fray Luis in the poems addressed to him.⁴ From a heading in one of the MSS. we know that the full name was Felipe Ruiz de la Torre y Mota, and he may have been a brother of the Augustinian Fray Juan Ruiz de la Mota, from whom Fray Luis obtained notes that he had taken at a lecture of Cipriano de la Huerza at Alcalá.⁵ In 1517 Don Pedro Ruiz de la Mota was Bishop of Badajoz.⁶ Knowing how rarely Luis de Leon gave his full confidence, one might expect that Felipe Ruiz was either a relative or intimately connected with him at Belmonte⁷ or Madrigal or Salamanca. But the name Ruiz is so common that nothing can be inferred from its early appearance in the family of the Pachecos of Belmonte, nor in the forms Ruiz de Leon and Ruiz de Montoya. It is a curious fact that one of the books of Diego de la Mota which appeared at Valencia in 1599 was published by Diego de la Torre and that Antonio had heard that the author was of Belmonte.⁸ In a list of Augustinian friars in October 1579 appears the name of Fray Agustín de la

¹ *Epistolario Español*, vol. ii (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*), no. 48, p. 36. Cf. no. 47 (Grial to Vazquez del Marmol, October 5, 1589): 'si vuestras mercedes me enojan me acogeré a mi aldeguela, que está menos de una jornada, y cumpliendo con Isidoro, que lo deseo, me despediré de cuidados cortesanos.' Pedro Pantino refers to Grial in three letters to Vazquez del Marmol from the Escorial in 1594 and 1595 (*ibid.*, nos. 55-7).

² *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 301: 'dijo que conoce a fray Luis de Leon de catorce años a esta parte . . . de trato y conversacion en esta ciudad de Salamanca . . . es de edad de treinta y cuatro años, poco mas o menos' (January 23, 1573). He is 'arcediano de Ledesma, vecino de la dicha ciudad de Salamanca'.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 261.

⁴ *En vano el mar fatiga*; ¿Cuándo será que pueda . . .?; ¿Qué vale cuanto vee?

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, x, 475.

⁶ See Conde de Cedillo, *El Cardenal Cisneros* (1921), pp. 365-368.

⁷ The name of a village to which the narrow white road leads from Belmonte through Monreal is La Mota del Cuervo.

⁸ Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliotheca Nova*, I. 300: 'Bellomontanus patria, ut a quibusdam accepi.' A Felipe de la Torre wrote *Institucion de un Rey Cristiano* (Antwerp, 1555).

Mota, and in another of about the same time (December, 1579) that of Fray Agustín de la Torre, possibly one and the same person.¹ We only know that Felipe Ruiz was a poet and was still alive towards the end of 1587. In 1582 he contributed two short Latin poems to the second edition of Luis de Leon's *In Cantica Canticorum*; ² three years later he contributed a Latin poem to Antonio Guevara's *Commentaria in Habacuc* (Madrid, 1585),³ and on November 7, 1587, he received a gilt salt-cellar for the part he had taken as poet in the festivities of Santa Leocadia at Toledo.⁴ As a poet he does not seem to have ranked high, but it would be of real interest to know more of the man to whom some of the noblest lyrics in the Castilian language were addressed. Benito Arias Montano, one of the profoundest scholars of his age, was only occasionally at Salamanca. Luis de Leon must have made his acquaintance early (whereas El Brocense and he were continually resident at Salamanca for nearly thirty years before becoming personally acquainted), either at Salamanca or Alcalá. In 1554 Arias Montano was at the Augustinian Convent at Salamanca and may have then drawn Luis de Leon's attention especially to the *Song of Songs*.⁵ He was again at Salamanca in 1563.⁶

¹ *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Septiembre de 1916, pp. 193, 199.

² Philip. Rvyz, *Libelle auree paginis beatis*; Idem, *Libelle sensuum auditorum conscie*.

³ Cristobal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, Pt. i (Madrid, 1891), p. 114: 'Philippi Rvizii Hendecasyllabon ad D. Antonium Guevaram'. Since El Brocense also was a friend and correspondent of the commentator of Habakkuk, this makes it probable that Ruiz may have been one of the Salamanca group, one of those great friends, of the Muses and of El Brocense, to which the latter refers (*Opera*, ii. 177).

⁴ Felipe Picatoste, *Estudios sobre la grandeza y decadencia de España*, t. i (Madrid, 1881), p. 51. If Luis de Leon took part, with Gaspar Gil Polo, Artieda, and other poets, in a similar poetical contest at Barcelona, at Easter, 1580 (see *Noticia de los Códices* in Merino's edition of Luis de Leon's Spanish works), it need not of course imply that he was present in person at Barcelona.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 294: 'residiendo él [Fray Sebastian Toscano] en San Augustin de Salamanca al tiempo que murió [January 2, 1554] el Principe de Portugal, padre deste Rey que es agora, el dicho Benito Arias Montano le mostró una exposicion de los Cantares de Salomon en romance que el dicho Benito habia hecho.' Cf. x. 380, 477, 566. It is difficult to judge how cordial were the relations between these two great men who sympathized so thoroughly in their studies. Many references concern them both, as that of Cabrera about astrology, and that of Arias Montano pronouncing half a line of macaronic Latin in the presence of Luis de Leon and Dr. Juan del Caño and the Carthusian monk, Fray Esteban de Salazar (Carvajal, *Elogio* (1832), Document 73).

⁶ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 491. Luis de Leon refers to him as *extremeño o andaluz*.

Such were the friends that Luis de Leon gathered round him. 'A faithful friend,' he says, 'is rare and difficult to find,' and a man should not have many friends.¹ In the preface to his poems he tells Portocarrero that he is so inclined to live hidden that he is not known to more persons than can be counted on one's fingers.² We must, however, remember that the poems were intended to appear pseudonymously, and that it is Luis Mayor,³ not Luis de Leon, who is here speaking, and that he might purposely say just the opposite of what would be true of Luis de Leon, who spent his days in constant relations with his fellow men and lived at Salamanca, through which generations of students were continually passing and attending his lectures;⁴ even if we consider, not his very numerous acquaintances but his more intimate friends, it would be difficult to limit them to ten if to the group of scholars and poets we add the names of the friars of his Order who were his friends, Fray Luis de Toledo,⁵ Juan de Guevara, Pedro de Aragon, Pedro de Rojas, Hernando de Peralta, Pedro de Uceda, and others. These were his contemporaries, but there were many younger friars in whom Luis de Leon's name produced glowing enthusiasm. One willingly places among them the noble and fervent San Juan de la Cruz, who in his student days at Salamanca must have lit his rapt inspiration at the lamp kept burning by Luis de Leon before the *Song of Songs*. One feels something of this enthusiasm in

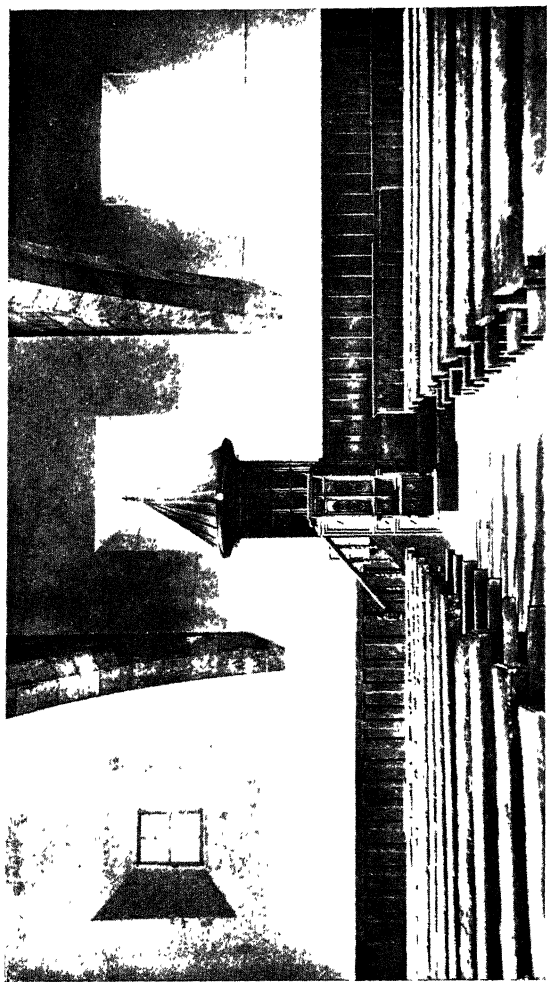
¹ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 120: 'un amigo fiel es negocio raro y muy dificultoso de hallar.' Cf. iii. 121: 'los amigos, como dice Aristotiles, no han de ser muchos porque para el deleite bastan pocos'; and iii. 122 (time and money will not suffice for many friends, besides the difficulty of their being friends with one another). In *Exposicion de Job*, xix. 15, he speaks of 'el engaño grande que pasa en la vida que nadie es querido por lo que es en sí sino por lo que representa de fuera'.

² 'Siendo yo de mi natural tan aficionado al vivir encubierto que después de tantos años como ha que vine a este Reino [Luis de Leon had always lived in Castille, although not in Old Castille] son tan pocos los que me conocen en él que, como Vmd sabe, se pueden contar por los dedos.' In his trial (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 193) he speaks of 'infinitas gentes que me hablaban y conocían'.

³ Mendez, *Vida*, i. 61.

⁴ Luis de Leon himself refers to his 'gran numero de discipulos y muy aficionados' (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 192), and a student, Don Diego de Castilla, says that 'el dicho fray Luis de Leon tenía muchos amigos y discipulos' (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 329-30). Luis de Leon presented some eighty witnesses for his defence.

⁵ See *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 284: 'conoce al maestro fray Luis de Leon mas ha de treinta años . . . siempre han estado juntos.'



AN OLD SALAMANCA LECTURE-ROOM

the evidence of the Augustinian Fray Bartolomé de Carranza,¹ as in the devotion of Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon, who was but twenty-one when Luis de Leon died.² In a letter to Fray Hernando de Peralta in 1572, Luis de Leon speaks of the growing favour of the University towards him, a favour which only embittered his rivals, and Fray Francisco Sancho, writing to Luis de Leon in the following year (July 16, 1571), praises his learning and talent.³

Part of the summer vacation would be spent with one or two other Augustinians in the convent's *granja* of La Flecha, seven kilometres from Salamanca, on the right bank of the river Tormes, a place, as Luis de Leon said, far better than the Salamanca lecture-rooms, and which he lovingly described in several passages of *De los Nombres de Cristo*.⁴ By the house a weir sounded perpetually into the night, and a tiny island opposite (now reached through the mill) was wooded with willow and poplar. A beautiful view showed wide reaches of the Tormes, deep blue as living sapphire, with the soft greens of hedges of poplar and willow beyond, and far in the distance the faint snows along the summit of the Sierra de Gredos, from which the Tormes flows. A little further along the road, on its other side, was the garden and orchard with its fruit-trees and avenue

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 279: 'cree que no hubiera en el reino quien le llevara la catedra'. Cf. xi. 258, 301 (witness of Diego de Loarte to the same effect: 'era fama publica'), 303 (witness of Salinas), 312 (witness of 'los estudiantes más floridos').

² 'Nihil in eo parvum, nihil non magnum; prudentia, veritas, integritas, cum summa morum lenitate coniuncta; ingenium capax, multiscium, acre, nervosum, brevi rem attingens, quasi acu demonstrans et significanter enuntians, in quibus cum illo nostra nec avorum aetate comparandus nemo, nemo.' *De Agno typico* (Madrid, 1604) *Lectori*. Among many others who were influenced by Luis de Leon's character and teaching were the promising scholar Fray Alfonso de Mendoza, who died young, about the same time as Luis de Leon, Fray Juan Marquez, who professed, for the second time, in the Augustinian convent at Salamanca in 1587, and Fray Diego de Tapia (1549-91). The great Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) refers to him as 'sapientissimus magister meus'.

³ 'la erudicion, doctrina y ingenio que sé que suelen ser y son todas las cosas de V.P.'

⁴ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 19-22, 111, 256-7; ii. 11-13, 68-9, 133, 160; iii. 15, 21. See also his poems *Qué descansada vida* and *Cuando la noche oscura*. For a modern description of La Flecha see Miguel de Unamuno, *Paisajes* (1902), pp. 9-31. It now belongs to the Conde de las Cabrillas, Marqués de Puerto Seguro and Duque de Aveiro, and the garden, all that remains, is kept as it was in the time of Fray Luis.

of vines and planes and a tiny thread of icy water falling. Behind it is a hill (*the hill*: 'del monte en la ladera'), thyme-scented, and on the one side is a glimpse of the blue curve of the Tormes, 'hinchando bien sus riberas', on the other rise the magnificent towers of Salamanca's Cathedral and San Esteban, its houses hidden from sight.

But meanwhile the clouds were gathering and darkening round Luis de Leon. The doors of the Convent of San Esteban were ever open to students who came to denounce 'novedades' in the teaching of the University, and with Leon de Castro's influence at work there must have been many students who, like the son of the Marqués de Mondejar, considered themselves to belong to the party of Christ against the Liberal *maestrillos*, Grajal, Martinez, and Luis de Leon.¹ Medina, says Luis de Leon bitterly, assembled the students in his cell, inquiring of them what they had heard or knew, and, with Castro, some Hieronymites and others, marked out their campaign.² Yet, says Fray Luis in his downright way, if you go by all the nonsense collected by students you may imprison all the lecturers on theology in Spain, and will find them as guilty as Luther.³ In the summer of 1571 Medina was able to formulate a list of suspicious propositions as maintained by certain persons at Salamanca.⁴ The matter was brought to the notice of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition at Madrid, which ordered the Commissary at Salamanca to make inquiries. On December 17 Medina's evidence was taken. He deplored a tendency to 'new things' apparent in the University, and accused by name Grajal, Martinez, and Luis de Leon, who had translated the *Song of Songs* into Spanish and belittled the Vulgate. On December 26 Leon de Castro, full of peace and goodwill, made a lengthy but confused statement, a medley of

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 16-17: 'Dijeron a este declarante muchos estudiantes, que de los nombres de ellos no se acuerda mas de que fué uno de ellos D. Bernardino de Mendoza, hijo del Marqués de Mondejar, que por qué no le habia armado a él pues era del bando de Jesucristo, y que otra vez que le armase si semejantes conclusiones pusiesen, que él trataría aquellos maestrillos.'

² *Doc. inéd.*, x. 318. Cf. xi. 339, 340.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 358. Cf. x. 573-4.

⁴ Luis de Leon suggested that Medina should come into the open and declare publicly in a *congregacion* what he objected to in the lectures on the Vulgate (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 274).

hearsay and malevolence. Three days later the 'Subtle Doctor', Bachelor Pero Rodriguez, had his say, which reads like a caricature of Castro's evidence. Clearly so far Medina was the only formidable witness.¹ At the end of January, 1572, the Valladolid Inquisitors had arrived at the conclusion that Grajal and Martinez should be arrested on the suspicion of heresy. On February 13 Diego Gonzalez was sent from Valladolid 'so color de ir a visitar la ciudad de Salamanca', with orders to prosecute the inquiries and if necessary to place Grajal under provisional arrest in the house of Francisco Sancho, who had hitherto conducted the inquiry. On March 15 Gonzalez deliberately gave it as his opinion that 'Grajal and Fray Luis, being notoriously New Christians, must be intent on obscuring our Catholic faith and returning to their law,'² and suggested the arrest of Luis de Leon in addition to that of Grajal and Martinez.

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 5-22.

² Getino, *Vida y procesos*, p. 199.

VII

In the Cells of the Inquisition

'De su suma crueldad me resultaba el mayor bien, y lo que para otro hubiera sido un tormento riguroso era para mí una nueva especie de delicia.'

JOSÉ DE CADALSO.

'Ea enim tunc animi quiete atque laetitia fruebar quam nunc, luci redditus et amicissimorum mihi hominum consuetudine fruens, saepe requiro.'

LUIS DE LEON.

'FRAY LUIS DE LEON, Doctor Martinez, and Grajal have been arrested by the Inquisition, and as their names are so well known it has caused much surprise.' Thus from Madrid on April 13, 1572, wrote Secretary Zayas to Arias Montano.¹ The arrest of Grajal on March 1 showed Luis de Leon the abyss yawning at his feet, and the next three weeks must have been days of torture. He hastened (on March 5) to submit to the Inquisitor Diego Gonzalez at Salamanca the substance of his lectures on the Vulgate. On the 13th he wrote urgently to Fray Hernando de Peralta to obtain the signature of Don Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, in approval of the doctrine expressed in the lectures. But Petrus Granatensis, who had once offended the Grand Inquisitor Valdés by signing his name in favour of Carranza's Catechism,² had grown wary: he expressed approval of the doctrines, but refused to sign. When this answer was received at the Augustinian Convent at Salamanca, Fray Luis was already in prison. On March 15 Gonzalez wrote from Salamanca recommending his arrest. A week later the Supreme Court gave its consent.³ On March 25 a citizen of Salamanca,

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, t. xli, p. 272. An official document of 1565 had referred to Luis de Leon 'cuya eminencia e letras estaban muy conocidas' (*Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, iii. 433).

² Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 138. Luis de Leon also submitted his doctrine on the Vulgate to various high ecclesiastical authorities at Madrid, Toledo, Alcalá, Seville, Louvain, and Rome.

³ Luis de Leon's most powerful friend, Portocarrero, was away in Galicia since the preceding year. The Grand Inquisitor at the time of his arrest was Cardinal Espinosa, who, however, shortly afterwards fell into disgrace and

Diego de Valladolid, went bail in a sum of 2,000 ducats for the person of Luis de Leon, and on the following day the order for his detention was signed at Salamanca by Gonzalez. It was the ordinary form of arrest, and decreed that Luis de Leon's person should be seized and his goods sequestered. If sufficient money were not found to provide forty ducats for his food and a bed, the goods were to be sold by auction until the required sum was realized. Clothes for the prisoner were also to be brought, and the money was to be handed over to Bartolomé Ruiz, porter of the Holy Office, for the prisoner's food.¹ The duty of arresting him was entrusted to Francisco de Almansa, familiar of the Holy Office, a friend who had known Luis de Leon for over ten years, and whom he appears to have scandalized on his way to prison by relating the misdeeds of Castro and Medina.² Luis de Leon spent the night of the 26th in the house of Gonzalez at Salamanca,³ and at six o'clock on the evening of March 27 he arrived at the Valladolid prison of the Inquisition, and, after being searched according to custom, was handed over to the *alcaide* of the prison and placed in the secret cells. Nervous and excited as he had been during the past weeks, a greater measure of serenity came to him now that his misfortune was beyond escape. He drew up a profession of faith 'in case he should die suddenly', declaring that he lived and died in the faith of the Holy Catholic Church, confessing his sins and imploring the mercy of God.⁴ His position was indeed full of terrors. Cut off from every friend, deprived of the use of the Sacraments, he felt himself surrounded by enemies, threatened by loss of friends and honour, while the rack and the stake loomed in the background. If his physical strength failed, he might at any moment go out like the flame of a candle and be no more seen; his name would be blotted out, Celedon Gustin would come down to

died (September 11, 1572). There seems to be a clear allusion to him in *Exposicion de Job*, xviii. 16: 'pongamos ejemplo si quitase Dios la gracia y favor del Rey a algun ministro malo que privase mucho con él, y él, como suele acontecer a las veces, se consumiese y muriese de pena de verse caido.'

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 175: 'los entregad a Bartolomé Ruiz, portero e despensero de los presos deste Santo Oficio, para que de allí lo alimente,' *ibid.*, x. 96.

² *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 316.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 19.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 177-9.

examine the corpse, and it would be carried out hurriedly at night by *ganapanes* to an unknown and unhonoured grave.¹ He had the advantage of Carranza in that his principal enemies were without, not within the Inquisition, but it is improbable that he was lodged better than the Archbishop, whose room he may possibly have occupied. Carranza had been conducted to the new, not the old prison of the Valladolid Inquisition² thirteen years earlier, and complained three years later that 'I fear death and expect it daily, since to that end everything seems to have been ordered since I came here'.³ The ventilation of the room was so bad that the air was poisoned, the stench was intolerable, the room converted into a stable. It was so dark that he was often obliged to light a candle at nine in the morning. His food was brought on broken plates and the dessert handed to him on a book.⁴ Luis de Leon complained on August 20, 1575, that he had no one to look after him except a witless young prisoner ('un mochachico que está allí preso, que es simple') who would not always come when called, 'and there have been days when I fainted for hunger and there was no one to give me food'.⁵ He does not at any time complain of the rooms, as he probably would have done had they been dark, damp, or unhealthy. He makes no such charges, merely protesting against neglect and declaring generally that his imprisonment had been a prolonged torture.⁶

¹ As to this cf. *Opera*, vi. 328, 329, 'Pretiosa sepultura non prodest impio, ergo nec vilis aut nulla obest pio'; but 'per sepulturam confertur beneficium defuncto'.

² *Doc. inéd.*, v. 476: 'le dijo el arzobispo a D. Rodrigo de Castro que ya que le llevaban a Valladolid tendría gran consuelo le diesen por morada las casas de Pedro Gonzalez porque tenían buenas cuerdas y estaban en sitio sano. D. Rodrigo respondió le llevaría a ellas de bonísima gana, en que nada le concedió, porque estas casas había dos meses las había comprado la Inquisición y hecho cárceles que llamaban nuevas, y el mandamiento de prisión rezaba llevasen preso el cuerpo del arzobispo de Toledo a las cárceles nuevas.' In connexion with Carranza's imprisonment Simancas (*Autobiografías*, p. 156) speaks of 'aquellas casas en que estaba hecho su aposento (que entonces eran de Pedro Gonzalez de Leon)'. The old prison of the Inquisition was in the Calle del Obispo (nos. 18 and 20), now called Calle de Fray Luis de Leon. One may note that the formula for the Archbishop is 'volvió a su aposento' whereas for Fray Luis it is always 'fue vuelto a su carcel'.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 526.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 540, 549, 552 ('mi aposento hecho una caballeriza').

⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 188.

⁶ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 193: 'por el desacomodo en muchas cosas que he tenido

As to his cell, his position at Salamanca, his reputation throughout Spain, and his possession of money, if not his delicate health, seem to have secured him better treatment¹ than was accorded, for instance, to the Augustinian Fray Alonso Gudiel, who entered the Valladolid prison of the Inquisition four months later, on July 18, 1572. The Professor of Bible Exegesis at the University of Osuna was forty-six years old, the son of an apothecary of Seville. He was accused of being a *judaizante* and descendant of Jews, of having insisted on giving a literal meaning to the whole of the Old Testament, as though this precluded prophetic and allegorical meanings, which he had never denied! He was arrested at the Augustinian Convent at Valladolid, whither he had come to attend the provincial chapter, and placed in a dark and exceedingly damp (*humidísima*) cell.² By March of the following year, as with Goes at Lisbon, his body had become covered with leprosy, a doctor declared his life in danger—he had been bled four times; Diego Gonzalez visited him, and as a result the Inquisitors agreed that he should be removed to a better cell (*la carcel de descansillo*) until his health improved (*hasta tanto que tenga mas salud*), when presumably he was to be once more reduced to the verge of death.³ Gudiel, however, forestalled this see-saw process by dying almost immediately. He made a last effort to clear himself, for the sake of his aged mother, and begged to be allowed to make a statement. An Inquisitor and secretary accordingly presented themselves in his cell, and turning out another prisoner, called Castaño, remained alone with the accused. He appears to have been already half delirious, and made a long rambling statement as to the way students had

y por mi natural flaqueza y enfermedad ha sido un tormento tan largo y tan duro y tan cruel,' &c.

¹ With his love of cleanliness he must have insisted on the regular supply of two pails of water daily, which Grajal says were not always forthcoming. As to light he was better off than Pedro de Cazalla in the long winter nights, since we know that he was allowed a candlestick and snuffers, whereas in 1558, two months after his arrest, Cazalla begged for a *lamparica*: 'es enfermo de perlesia de la cabeza, y tiene congojas en el corazon, que ternia necesidad de una lamparica de noche para alumbralle.' *Procesos de Protestantes Españoles* (1910), p. 101.

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una Bibhoteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, vol. III (1917), s.v. Gudiel, pp. 308-64.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

misunderstood his lectures, as had Fray Thomas 'whom I used to call Fray Tunnyfish'. He ended by begging them to hasten the conclusion of his trial, 'porque no se acabe de morir'. On April 11 the doctor pronounced his condition to be very serious, requiring every kind of comfort, and especially that he should be transferred to a private house. On that day he was confessed, and on being told by the priest that the Inquisitors were not satisfied with his answers he burst into tears and asked to have the accusation read to him again. The Inquisitor Guijarro accordingly went to his cell on April 13 and the last scene of the tragedy was enacted. As the Inquisitor read clause after clause of the indictment the prisoner besought him not to torture him further, but to let him go to heaven in peace. Still the Inquisitor inexorably read on, and still the prisoner besought him to have done, 'and he kept repeating "No more, no more", and the said Señor Inquisitor left the cell'.¹ Gudiel died two days later. At nine o'clock on the night of his death, when his aged mother had no doubt gone dinnerless to bed,² his body was carried out from the Valladolid prison by hired porters bound by an oath of secrecy and was buried in the court of the Hospital of the Resurrection.

Four days after his arrest, on March 31, Luis de Leon asked to have sent him from his convent a crucifix, a picture of the Virgin, works by St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and Fray Luis de Granada's *Libro de Oracion*, a scourge, some powders for his heart attacks ('*mis melancolias y pasiones de corazon*') which Ana de Espinosa, an Augustinian nun at Madrigal, was wont to make for him, a brass candlestick and snuffers and a knife 'to cut what I eat'.³ The Inquisitors need not fear that he would

¹ *Ensayo*, iii. 347.

² On August 29 he had entreated the Inquisitors on behalf of his mother, who was old and ill and depended on him for her daily food, that half his prison fare might be sent to her, and a week before his death he besought them to write, or allow him to write, a letter to his mother who is poor and old, to console her and let her know that he will die repentantly as a Catholic, and not as a contumacious heretic. But it was not part of the Inquisitors' duties to write letters to the relatives of prisoners. Much of the awe inspired by the Inquisition was due to the sudden and mysterious way in which an accused person was cut off from the outside world. The very *ganapanes* who carried Gudiel's body to the grave were sworn to say nothing of 'what had passed or what they had heard or understood' (*Ensayo*, t. iii, pp. 344, 345, 347).

³ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 179.

use the knife for any other purpose, since 'I have never so desired life and strength as now'. His request was granted, 'and seeing that he is a delicate man and in ill-health', the *alcaide* was instructed to give him a knife—without a point.¹ His delicate health was counterbalanced by the clearness of his intellect, his knowledge of civil and ecclesiastical law, his consciousness of perfect orthodoxy, and by a certain habit of solitude and discipline of the mind² and mystic or stoical fervour, which made confinement in this respect no hardship. Moreover he was allowed a plentiful supply of books and paper with which, in Gudiel's words, 'se entretenga en sus imaginaciones'. Luis de Leon's 'imaginations' were varied and incessant. The consciousness that he had done no wrong could not prevent the thought of the apparent uselessness of all his past life of constant study, to which he had sacrificed health and pleasure and fortune,³ the agony of knowing that he was in the right, yet unable to prevail, the remembrance of past happiness, and the bitterness of the injustice of his treatment.⁴ His mind was torn between hope and fear, but he would take refuge in reading the Bible and, casting fears aside as unworthy, trust in God and in the ultimate triumph of the truth. Then he would set to work with a quiet and joyful mind⁵ on a Latin Commentary of the Psalms or his Spanish treatise *De los Nombres de Cristo*,⁶ or write an ode im-

¹ Ibid., p. 180: 'y atento que es hombre enfermo y delicado dijeron que mandaban y mandaron que el alcaide le dé un cuchillo sin punta.'

² O what, he exclaims somewhere in his Works, will be the life of him whose mind is a prey to whatever comes before it!

³ Cf. *Opera*, i. 313: 'Doctrinae enim eruditio neque parari potest neque retineri sine maximo et valetudinis detrimento et rei familiaris dispendio; quae enim in vita sunt iucunda ea abiicienda sunt fere omnia.'

⁴ Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xi. 7; xiii. 21; xvi. 17; vi. 2; x. ad fin. (note); xxxi. ad init.; *Opera*, i. 155; *Salmo xli.* 3, 4, and 7. Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 183: 'otras muchas cosas se le han ofrecido a la imaginacion después questá preso.'

⁵ *Opera*, i. 112, 115, 116 ('eius [Ps. xxvi] pleraque omnia hoc meo tempore apte a me et vere usurpari posse'), 118, 119, 131, 165; ii. 80.

⁶ Cf. i. 14-15: 'no me parece que devo perder la ocasión deste ocio en que la injuria y mala voluntad de algunas personas me han puesto; porque, aunque son muchos los trabajos que me tienen cercado, pero el favor largo del cielo que Dios, padre verdadero de los agraviados, sin merecerlo me da, y el testimonio de la conciencia, en medio de todos ellos han serenado mi anima con tanta paz que no sólo en la enmienda de mis costumbres sino tambien en el negocio y conocimiento de la verdad veo agora y puedo hazer lo que

ploring the protection of the Virgin, *Virgen que el sol más pura*, or find comfort in the healing verse of Sophocles.¹ So he would take courage and resolve to turn his enemies' weapons against themselves. The darts of fortune must be met with a brave front and death itself was but the gate of life. But presently doubt and gloom and revolt and discouragement would return; nightmares and fever and fits of black despair at midnight. God had forgotten him, and he would see his enemies openly rejoicing, and the satisfaction of his rivals and his acquaintances, believing that all his studies and austerity had been only a cloak of hypocritical impiety.² He perhaps naturally saw enemies and pitfalls everywhere.³ He denounced as untrustworthy, on the ground of personal enmity, the whole Order of the Dominicans and of the Hieronymites, and various members of his own Order, besides, of course, Medina and Castro, 'my capital enemies'. He even included the professors of Alcalá University as rivals of those of Salamanca and the enemies of his lawyer uncle Antonio de Leon. One must remember in this respect and in his accusations concerning fellow Augustinians that this charge of malice against accusers, whose names were always withheld from the prisoner,⁴ was his recognized and almost only form of defence. It was not until April 15 that Luis de Leon was examined for the first time, and after being questioned in the usual way as to his position

antes no hazia.' His prose and verse translations of Ps. xli. were also written in prison, as was his Latin commentary on Ps. xxvi (finished in July, 1575, if we read *Iam mensis agitur quadragesimus* (*Opera*, i. 165), in January, 1573, if we read with the early editions (e. g. 1582 ed., f. 53 v.) *decimus iam mensis*).

¹ On July 16, 1575 (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 147), he asked for a Sophocles among other books which had not yet been brought in November, 1575 (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 196). In *De los Nombres de Cristo* (ii. 169), begun in prison, he quotes from Sophocles, 'si Dios manda en mí no estoy sujeto a cosa mortal' (? *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 410: 'οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Δοῦλῳ').

² *Opera*, i. 125, 127, 132, 133, 161, 162; *De los Nombres*, ii. 83; *Exp. de Job*, iv. 12; xiii. 17; xxx. 20; vi. 4; vii. 13; v. 12; xxiii. 17; xvii. 4; vii. 7; *Opera*, i. 155, 157-8.

³ Cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x. 191 ('agora todo se me hace temeroso'); x. 203 ('estoy cercado de enemigos'); x. 198 ('lo cierto se me hace sospechoso y dudoso'); x. 240 ('agora todo se me hace dudoso'); x. 380 ('el estado en que estoy me hace receloso aun de mi mismo').

⁴ As in the Middle Ages, he was 'forced to grope around in the dark and blindly name such persons as he imagined might have a hand in his misfortunes' (Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., New York [1887], i. 446).

and family was admonished in the ordinary formula to speak the whole truth.¹ 'God is my witness that I desire naught else', answered Fray Luis as, armed with paper for his defence, he returned to his cell; and indeed to him truth was the very breath of life. On April 18 he presented his written defence on twelve sheets of paper—some 5,000 words. On May 5 the Public Prosecutor, Diego de Haedo, read before him the formal accusation, ending with the common formula demanding that the accused be put to the torture until he declare the whole truth. The first five and the eighth heads of the accusation of heresy preferred against Luis de Leon, 'descended from a generation of Jews', referred to the interpretation of the Scriptures and the authority of the Vulgate, the sixth charged him with having translated the *Song of Songs* into the vulgar tongue. The seventh insinuated that he believed in justification by faith alone, and the ninth accused him of not having denounced the heretical propositions of others. This (with the exception of the absurd clause 7, which was not subsequently insisted on) gives a very fair summary of the case against Fray Luis.² He himself attributed his arrest chiefly to Castro and Medina.³ It was generally understood that he had been imprisoned on a charge of giving to the Hebrew text more authority than to the Vulgate⁴ and that he had Jewish blood in his veins.⁵ Castro had openly hinted as much and had denounced him and Grajal as 'Jews', a word, however, which in Castro's vocabulary applied to any one who accepted the Hebrew text of the Scriptures. Possibly the silly story of Luis de Leon and the wine was originally intended to indicate that he had been arrested as a Jew. It was said that

¹ One may note that the formula's sinister words, with their clear hint of torture, *donde no, se oirá al fiscal*, are omitted in this first audience, although not in the second, two days later (*Doc. inéd.*, x. 183-4).

² *Doc. inéd.* x. 206-9.

³ Cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 344 ('fué [Leon de Castro] el todo de mi prision'); x. 361 ('asi nunca los Dominicos me pusieran aquí').

⁴ Cf. the testimony of Fray Alonso Carrillo, Prior of Santa Cruz at Granada (*Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, iii. 318) and *Doc. inéd.*, x. 37.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.* x. 38, 39. To an incurable individualist like Luis de Leon it must have seemed outrageous to accuse any one simply on the ground of Jewish descent. 'It is unjust', he says, 'to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children' (*Opera*, iii. 148-9).

at a banquet, in answer to a question about some wine, Fray Luis had remarked that it was doubtful whether it had come, and this was understood to refer to the coming of Christ! That this should be given as the reason for his arrest¹ might seem an excellent testimonial to his innocence. The story was told, by a Salamanca student who was off to Italy, to an anonymous Augustinian friar, who told it to Fray Diego de Leon at Barcelona, who maliciously repeated it to every one. 'Before accepting this tale', said Luis de Leon bluntly to the Inquisitors, 'you might have inquired whether I was mad or drunk at the time.' They did not in fact attribute much importance to it, but it occupied a good deal of time and incensed Fray Luis, who demanded that its authors should be sent for at his own expense, confronted with him and punished. The definite charges against him were that he had translated the *Song of Solomon* and had belittled the authority of the Vulgate. The translation had been made in 1561 at the request of a cousin, Isabel Osorio, a nun in the Convent of Sancti Spiritus, at Salamanca, who knew no Latin. She had returned the MS. to Fray Luis, who placed it in a writing-desk in his cell.² The careless or malicious Diego de Leon (subsequently he was transferred or escaped to the less severe rule of Aragon and was at Barcelona in 1572, and at Cartagena in 1573), possibly a relation, was then only about fifteen, but later, being in charge of Luis de Leon's cell, he found the desk open and surreptitiously copied the manuscript. Copies multiplied rapidly and spread through Spain, penetrating even to Portugal and to Peru.³ Fray Luis severely castigates the Dominican Fray Vicente Hernandez, who had asserted that he could see little

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 80.

² He confesses that he also possessed a Spanish version of the *Book of Job* (*Doc. inéd.* x. 186). It is sometimes held that certain lectures of Luis de Leon on the subject of marriage had been denounced to the Inquisition. The Bishop of Zamora had said so to Don Juan de Almeida (*Doc. inéd.* x. 200), but Luis de Leon had never lectured on the subject (*ibid.*) and there seems to have been a confusion with his view on marriage which had offended Leon de Castro (*ibid.*, p. 197). He maintained that marriage was a less blessed state than celibacy, but not in itself an evil. The passage in *De los Nombres de Cristo* (ii. 194): 'Ya conocemos cuan mal sentis de estas cosas' possibly refers to this as well as to his literal interpretation of the *Song of Solomon*. Cf. *Opera*, i. 231, ii. 102, vi. 298 and *La Perfecta Casada*.

³ *Doc. inéd.* x. 98, 99. The celebrated Portuguese divine, Frei Francisco Foreiro (†1580), read and approved it and sent its author a friendly message.

difference between the Spanish translation of the *Song of Songs* and the amatory poems of Ovid. This 'most spiritual' witness, he exclaims, can never have read or understood the *Song of Songs* in Latin, and now he is scandalized by Spanish words which meant nothing to him in the original.¹ But that was precisely the argument of the Inquisition: that the Scriptures must not be spread abroad to scandalize fools and simpletons. Besides the charge of having broken the rule which forbade translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, Luis de Leon was accused of having interpreted the poem in a literal sense of King Solomon, and this charge was the more serious in that it involved the whole question of the interpretation of the Scriptures, over which a furious controversy was then raging, and which was partly responsible for the arrest of the Salamanca professors and of Gudiel. Luis de Leon stood on firm ground, supported by the authority of St. Augustine and the Angelic Doctor, when he maintained that a passage of Scripture might have two or more literal meanings. But he offended many by bringing philology to bear on the Scriptures,² and others by insisting on their historical meaning, denying, for instance, that every part of every Psalm must be referred to Christ.³

Intimately connected with this question was that of the authority of the Vulgate. In the first Polyglot Bible printed at Alcalá in the years 1514-17, the Vulgate had appeared between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint 'like Christ between the two thieves', and this was still the attitude of old-fashioned scholars, an attitude to which the Council of Trent had given the final seal of approbation by declaring the Vulgate 'authentic'.⁴

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, 363-4 ('el oír besos y abrazos y pechos y ojos claros . . . le escandalizó').

² He insists that a single Hebrew word may have many and various meanings, and translates one by the Spanish words *aseo*, *harmonía*, *donaire*, *luz*, *deleite*, *concierto*, *contento*. (Cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 18, 194, 397; xi. 72, 250.) El Brocense supports himself with the authority of Foreiro to show that 'aequivoca nulla sunt' (*Minerva*, iv. 14).

³ See e. g. *Opera*, iii. 33-6.

⁴ Sessio IV (April 8, 1546) *Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum*: 'statuit et declarat ut haec ipsa vetus et Vulgata editio quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat vel presumat. Praeterea ad coercenda petulantia ingenia,' &c. Cf. *Doc. inéd.* xi. 257 et seq.

Recently a notable group of Hebrew scholars, including Arias Montano, Luis de Leon, Grajal and Martinez, had shown an inclination to go back to the Hebrew original. At Salamanca they were in a minority, and were denounced with unwearying violence by Leon de Castro, who for his part, says Fray Luis, believed in the Septuagint 'only a little less than in God',¹ and identified the Vulgate with the Septuagint, attributing differences in the Hebrew text to its corruption by the malice of the Jews. Pertinent inquiry as to where and when the Jews, scattered over the face of the earth,² had effected these alterations only drew from him fresh blustering accusations *ad hominem*: 'Jews, Judaizers.' 'In the midst of a dispute,' says Fray Luis, 'he does not know what he is saying or doing.' He was an enemy to be feared and had great authority in the University, whereas the talented Hebrew professors were unpopular, being regarded as novellizers and liberals. A student, son of the Marqués de Mondejar (to whom Castro had dedicated his edition of El Pinciano's *Refranes* in 1555), assured Leon de Castro that he would soon bring these little professors to reason as one of the band of Jesus Christ. Grajal, supported by Luis de Leon, maintained that the Council of Trent had not decreed that the Vulgate was the best possible version, but only that it was the best of existing versions. Luis de Leon in his lectures of 1568, as in his defence before the Inquisition, accepted the authority given to the Vulgate by the Council of Trent, but contended that this authority must be understood of the substance and meaning of the book, not of minute points of scholarship, as to which, indeed, there were variants in various existing copies of the Vulgate, and that many passages might be rendered better and more exactly. In fact, he accepted the Vulgate as the best existing Latin translation and wished to improve it. He also maintained that the fact that one meaning was true did not necessarily imply that others must be false.³ And, crowning offence in Leon de Castro's eyes,

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 331: 'los setenta Interpretes a quien Leon cree un poco menos que a Dios'. Cf. *ibid.* x. 350: 'su intento principal es declarar y defender el texto de los Setenta'.

² Cf. Luis de Leon, *Opera*, iii. 321, 322. According to one witness Luis de Leon supported Grajal, who had declared that it was not the Hebrew text that was corrupt.

³ 'No contra la explicacion de los Santos sino *praeter*, pero que aquel

he declared that the version of the Seventy was not always accurate and had not been made by divine inspiration, and turned the tables on Castro by asserting that his worship of the Septuagint weakened the authority of the Vulgate.¹ Others believed that the Vulgate must be held up as an unassailable wall against heresy, and that if its authority were questioned in minute matters this would give occasion for it to be attacked in matters of greater moment. And for those who were not keen or profound scholars this was a convenient view. Thus Fray Gabriel de Montoya considered its text sacred in every part and particle, and differences in the Greek or Hebrew texts he explained as corrupt, through misprints, or carelessness, or deliberate malice. That, as to the Septuagint, was Leon de Castro's view. The general opinion was that in matters of faith and morality the Council of Trent had declared the Vulgate infallible, which still left room for Luis de Leon's plea in favour of a better translation of certain words and phrases. His attitude was vindicated before his death when Sixtus V, in 1588, ordered the revision of the Vulgate. Luis de Leon is said to have been invited to assist in this revision and to have refused.² He always maintained that he had not gone one step beyond the Dominican Cano in his views on the Vulgate,³ but the controversy as to grammatical inaccuracies in the Bible lasted for centuries, and had already got one of the earliest Spanish humanists, Lebrija, into trouble. The feeling against Hebrew scholars was more recent and was largely due to the furious zeal of Leon de Castro.

After the accusation had been read by the Fiscal to the accused, and he had been allowed to answer it fully, in writing and orally, the next step was to name his counsel, and this was done on May 6, 1572, when Dr. Ortiz de Funes was appointed.

praeter le paresce suſtificado (Leon de Castro, *Doc. inéd.* x. 9). In the seventeen propositions originally laid before the Inquisition the *praeter* was treacherously replaced by *contra* (*Doc. inéd.* x. 286).

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 100.

² See Blanco García, *Fr. Luis de León* (1904), pp. 237-8, and *La Ciudad de Dios*, xxvi. 96-102. Luis de Leon drew a distinction between the Vulgate as written by St. Jerome and the printed texts, which often differed from one another in details (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 348); a distinction which caused the muddle-headed to say that he stood for St. Jerome's version against the Vulgate.

³ *Doc. inéd.* x. 97; xi. 173.

Probably that overworked man¹ was delighted to have a client with so clear a head and well able to conduct his own case. This Luis de Leon did with consummate skill in dealing with all accusations and points of law and theology. He, however, damaged himself in two ways, by a too elaborate defence, and by excessive fierceness in denouncing his accusers;² and in both ways he prolonged his imprisonment.³ The machinery of the Inquisition was slow and pedantic, and Luis de Leon's penetrating remarks and his calling of scores of witnesses⁴ set it creaking laboriously in various directions. As to his outbursts against

¹ *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, iii. 349.

² Luis de Leon probably himself refers to this when he says that Job spoilt his defence by *demasia de palabras* (*Exposicion de Job*, xxxviii. 2; cf. xl. 1: 'se doliese de alguna demasia y orgullo').

³ Dr. Cancer discovered five new doubtful propositions (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 179-84) in the defence presented by Luis de Leon on March 30, 1575. Fray Luis made some sarcastic remarks about the intelligence of the *Calificadores* (cf. *Doc. inéd.* xi. 84): 'este calificador que debe ser más docto que todos'; *ibid.*, p. 88: 'el calificador tiene el más extraordinario ingenio que yo he visto'. A friendly Augustinian in 'the Indies', Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, after reading some propositions attributed to Luis de Leon, said frankly: 'In sooth they may burn me if they burn him.' (See Mendez, *Vida*, i. 263.)

⁴ The witnesses presented for the defence (see *Doc. inéd.* xi. 253-347) numbered over seventy and included the Augustinians Juan de Guevara, Bartolomé de Carranza, Diego Lopez, Pedro Xuarez, Francisco de Figueroa, Mateo de Figueroa, Pedro Arias, Diego de Salazar, Diego de Carvajal, Diego de Tapia, Baltasar del Castillo, Juan de Castro, Hernando de Zarate, Hernando de Peralta, Gabriel de Goldaraz, Francisco Cueto, Juan de Sotomayor, Antonio de Sosa, Juan Gutierrez, Jeronimo de la Cruz, Agustin de la Cruz (porter of San Pedro), Esteban de Guzman, Juan de Velasco, Gabriel Pinelo, Alonso Manuel, Juan de Vega, Vicente de Quintanilla, Pedro de Uceda, Luis de Toledo; Fray Antonio de Quevedo, Fray Alonso Gutierrez, Don Pedro Portocarrero, D. Ana de Abarca, D. Ana de Espinosa, D. Ana de Sotomayor, D. Isabel Osorio, D. Maria de Ovalle, D. Juana de la Mota, Fray Gaspar de Uceda, Fray Mancio de Corpus Christi, D. Francisco de Anaya, Francisco Rodriguez de Aranzo, Luis de Alcocer, Geronimo de los Cobos, Alarcon (colegial de San Millan), Espinosa (colegial de Cuenca), the *lector* of the Jesuits, Francisco Sancho, Canon Valenzuela, Cristobal de Madrigal (Professor of Hebrew), Don Juan de Almeida, the Racionero Covarrubias, Juan Domingo Florencio (Leon de Castro's secretary), Florencio Ovando (he is mentioned on the same page with Florencio, *Doc. inéd.* xi. 256), El Brocense, Francisco de Salinas, Grajal, Martin Martinez, Juan Loarte, Diego Loarte, Bachiller Martinez (servant of Maestro Sancho), the Salamanca publishers Gaspar de Portonariis and Matias Gast, Juan Escribano, D. Sancho de Avila, Bishop Gallo, D. Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, Francisco de Palacios (*barbero*), Cristobal Vela, Diego de Castilla, Francisco de Almansa, Maestro Francisco Gil, Dr. Hector Rodriguez, Andrés de Guadalajara (Escribano del Claustro), Juan Galvan (theological student), Dr. Juan Yañez, Dr. Ambrosio Nuñez, and Felipe Ruiz.

his accusers the Inquisitors might ask themselves, if such was his attitude in the shadow of the Inquisition, what it would be likely to become in the broad sunlight of Salamanca. When another professor of the University, Bartolomé de Barrientos¹, was acquitted in 1572, the Commissary of the Holy Office, Francisco Sancho, wrote from Salamanca to the Inquisitors at Valladolid that he was afraid his release might prove a serious mistake.² That was a word to the wise which the Valladolid Inquisitors must have taken to heart. Luis de Leon was given plenty of opportunity to disappear discreetly like Gudiel and Grajal. To us now it seems a strange injustice that one so orthodox should have remained nearly five years in the cells of the Inquisition, but in fairness it must be said that Luis de Leon, by continually raising new points to be dealt with by the cumbrous system which the Inquisitors could not alter, himself prolonged his trial. Moreover, his consciousness of being in the right misled him into bad policy. He kept on informing the Inquisitors how they ought to act, and although they were not unaccustomed to the independence of a Brocense or Carranza (who also prolonged his own trial, as indeed prisoners were given every opportunity of doing) they could not help resenting these suggestions. It is impossible to doubt that Luis de Leon's enemies at Salamanca had counted on all this: who better than they knew how nervous he was and how fiercely he would combat what he deemed tyranny or injustice? The bullying Leon de Castro had taken his measure when on one occasion Fray Luis turned on him crying out repeatedly that he was a 'ruin hombre'. During the first year Luis de Leon's defence was excellent, clear, and restrained. Only once is his bitterness apparent when, in evident allusion to Leon de Castro, he speaks of 'some demon weaving his suspicions into accusations'.³ But after he had been in prison for a year and this sweet reasonableness had proved

¹ He was the author of various works, including *Brevissimae in Somnium Scipionis Explanations* (Salmanticae, 1570), and had composed a Latin tragedy on the rebellion of the Moors at Granada.

² *Doc. inéd.* x. 145, 146: 'El maestro Barrientos volvió acá como libre y aprobado, y temo que no succedan mayores inconvenientes por tomar él más libertad.'

³ *Doc. inéd.* x. 224.

unavailing he began to grow impatient.¹ 'I know that I am not guilty', he says; and on April 15, the day of Gudiel's death, asks (as again in June) that Diego de Leon should be arrested, and remarks that he is suffering an intolerable wrong and that it would seem just after so many months that he should be told why he himself had been arrested, since no reason had been adduced so far.² That was after the anonymous accusations of the witnesses to the number of sixteen had been submitted to him in March. Leon de Castro's fondness for vague generalizations had made him an unsatisfactory witness before the Inquisitors, who pressed him as to his hearsay evidence: who had said it, and when, and in whose presence? That of Pero Rodriguez was of a similar hearsay kind. That of Medina had been briefer, more specific, and more deadly. He stated that Luis de Leon had translated the *Song of Solomon*, had asserted that the Vulgate contained many errors, was inclined to 'new things', and in discussions preferred the text of Vatable and Pagnini³ to that of the Vulgate and the Saints. A third important witness was the Augustinian, Fray Diego de Zúñiga. That Luis de Leon deals with him faithfully is not in itself a reason to disbelieve that he was the celebrated Zúñiga, who first in Spain supported Copernicus's theory of the earth's movement, since Fray Luis was no respecter of persons. A reader of the trial might not gather that Leon de Castro was an accomplished scholar, and Medina an able theologian. But there are other reasons for the belief that the Zúñiga, or Rodriguez, who appeared as an accuser in the trials of Luis de Leon and Gudiel, was a different person from the Zúñiga, or Arias, who was one of the most learned and liberal scholars of his day. To the prisoner in his cell the figures of friar and professor stood out in the clear light of Salamanca like trees or turrets in a Castilian sunset, and he etched them to the Inquisitors in a few masterly strokes. He was fighting them on unequal terms and felt justified in not sparing them, all the more

¹ In a passage of *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 84, he vividly portrays the alternations between hope and despair.

² *Doc. inéd.* x. 315.

³ Sanctes or Xantes Pagnini was born about 1470 at Lucca, and was a disciple of Savonarola. He was the first to divide the text of the Bible into numbered verses.

that his accusations concerned not their orthodoxy, but their character, and would lie buried in the impenetrable secrecy of the Holy Office. So Castro is 'lacking in intelligence, as any one will realize who speaks to him twice', and is excessively suspicious; Medina is sarcastically described as a man of 'most holy zeal'; Zúñiga is perjuring himself and not for the first time; Montoya 'is known among us as a man who never speaks the truth except by mistake'; Fray Vicente Hernandez is a most spiritual hypocrite; while Rodriguez, the 'Subtle Doctor', is shown following Luis de Leon through the streets of Salamanca as he came worn-out from lecturing in the Schools, plying him with witless questions as he hurried on in silence, until persons accompanying Fray Luis held him back by force.¹ On January 26, 1573, Luis de Leon requested that his Chair should not be filled when it fell vacant at the end of the four years from 1569 (*Doc. inéd.* x. 252-5). His request was not granted, and in April, 1573, the Chair of Durando was won by his enemy Medina, who secured ninety-five votes to the fifty-four given to the candidate put up by the Augustinians, Fray Pedro de Uceda (see J. González de Tejada, *Vida* (1863), pp. 44-5). This treatment has been contrasted with that accorded to Bartolomé de Barrientos, whose Chair was not to be filled (*Doc. inéd.* x. 135); but there is no reason to believe that Barrientos' Chair had actually fallen vacant during his imprisonment. Three years later, in 1576, when Medina won the Prima Chair of Theology, he was succeeded in the Durando Chair by Garcia del Castillo. On June 13 (x. 391) Luis de Leon received the books, various Bibles and theological works from his library, that he had asked for two months earlier, in ten parcels and carried them to his cell. That must have been one of the happier moments of his imprisonment. In that and the following month his remarks about his accusers grow more bitter. Medina

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 357-8: 'y otras veces por no enojarme ni desconcertarme con él no le respondia nada sino huia dél. Y es tan sin seso y tan importuno que es verdad que me acuerdo haber ido huyendo dél algunas veces en mi casa y fuera de casa, en las escuelas y en las calles, gran espacio de tierra, y yendo él en mi seguimiento preguntándome desatinos, y yo callando y apresurando el paso, hasta venir a que los compañeros que iban conmigo o otros estudiantes le apartaban de mi por fuerza y le detenian y reñian.' At other times he would lie in wait for Fray Luis with foolish problems at the entrance of the lecture-room.

is a man without a conscience, false, deceitful and perjured, and innocence itself will not be safe unless he is punished, and he refers to Castro's diabolical calumny and wickedness, actuated not by zeal, nor religion, but by mortal hatred. Arias Montano was perhaps fairer when he attributed Castro's action against himself to a mistaken zeal, but Arias Montano was safe in Italy. Luis de Leon rejects other witnesses as *singular*, foolish, false, malicious, mad and idiotic, hostile, ill-disposed, ignorant, perjured. He had meanwhile presented the names of some eighty witnesses to be examined for the defence.¹ In September and October he again refutes Medina, and in November bears witness as to the authorship of various manuscripts in his cell.² More than once he laid stress on the fact that his signature was to be found in the Vatable Bible, but his memory played him an odd trick, for although he had written the conclusion arrived at by the Committee his signature was found in neither of the copies when, after much insistence on his part, they were finally produced.³ On November 9, more than six months after the death of Gudiel, he refers to him as still alive, as he does in March, 1574, to Don Pedro Ponce de Leon, Bishop of Plasencia, who died in January, 1573; in August, 1574, he thinks that Arias Montano is dead.⁴ He was indeed in a world of shadows. On March 20, 1574, he was examined as to seventeen Latin propositions,⁵ and on March 22 as to thirty Spanish propositions to which the evidence of the witnesses, now numbering twenty-two, had been

¹ The defence threatened to swamp the accusations. In January, 1573, the Valladolid Inquisitors were reprimanded for allowing evidence for the defence to be received before the accusations had been 'published'. (*Doc. inéd.* x. 249.)

² See *Doc. inéd.* x. 448-9, 475-80.

³ *Doc. inéd.* x. 522, 523; xi. 270. Apparently he confused having signed with having written out what others signed. In December, 1572, he had said 'tengo flaca memoria y después que estoy en la cárcel he perdido gran parte de ella' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 220).

⁴ *Doc. inéd.* x. 475, 561; xi. 20.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.* x. 527 et seq. These seventeen propositions are derived from Luis de Leon's lectures on the Vulgate (*De Fide*, 1567-8), and are to be distinguished from the seventeen (*Doc. inéd.* x. 286-7) collected by Fray Bartolomé de Medina on December 21, 1572. Luis de Leon presented seven Latin propositions concerning the authority of Scripture (*Doc. inéd.* x. 246-8). The *calificadores* finally examined twenty-one propositions extracted from his lectures *De Fide* (*Doc. inéd.* x. 102-10).

reduced.¹ Of these he had no difficulty in making short work, and indeed seven of them were simply repetitions. On March 26, warned perhaps by his counsel, he declares that it is not his intention to be obstinate or contentious,² but in August he protests against being denied the names of the members of the Supreme Court of the Inquisition. On March 31, 1574, he suggested that his opinions should be submitted to the Archbishop of Granada and the Bishops of Segovia, Jaen, and Plasencia. On April 1 he asks that his old friend, Dr. Sebastian Perez, subsequently Bishop of Osma, should be given him as *patrono*. Two days later he added the names of Dr. Pedro Garcia, Canon of Murcia, Dr. Velazquez, Canon of Toledo, Dr. Ribera, and Dr. Ojeda. On June 26 he was given a choice between Fray Placido de Salinas, Fray Raimundo Teran, Dr. Cancer, and Fray Nicolas Ramos, but complained that they were unknown to him.

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 537 et seq., 555 et seq. (1) A better edition than the Vulgate was possible. (2) The Vulgate contains many *falsedades*. (3) The translations of Vatable, Pagnini and the Jews are preferable to the Vulgate and the Saints. (4) The Vulgate is not infallible. (5) The interpretations of Jews may also be true. (6) He had more respect for the Rabbis than for the Holy Fathers. (7) There might be interpretations not contrary to but in addition to those of the Saints. (8) He laughed at the interpretations of the Saints. (9) Many things in the Vulgate are badly translated. (10) There is no promise of eternal life in the Old Testament. (11) The Jews' interpretation of certain passages might be true. (12) The *Song of Songs* is to be taken literally. (13) The Council of Trent did not establish the infallibility of the Vulgate as an article of faith. (14) It was not an article of faith that the Virgin had no venial sins. (15) The Septuagint translated many passages wrong. (16) They did not understand Hebrew well. (17) The interpretations of the Jews, although different from those of the Evangelists, may also be true. (18) There is no mention of *gloria* (in a future life) in the Old Testament. (19) The *Song of Songs* is a *carmen amatorium*. (20) St. Augustine was ignorant of Scripture. (21) Scripture might be understood by means of 'grammar' without theology. (22) Some passages in the Vulgate are arbitrary translations. (23) Lax view as to poverty of monks. (24) The Hebrew text is not corrupt or falsified. (25) Monks may spend or give away sixpence without special licence. (26) There are no passages as to *bienaventuranza* (in a future life) in the Old Testament. (27) The law of Moses was concerned with temporal matters, not *bienaventuranza*. (28) The Vulgate has not always reproduced the spirit of the original. (29) The Hebrew Bible is not corrupt. (30) Passages in the Vulgate may be better rendered (*Doc. inéd.* x. 537-40). A stranger medley it would be difficult to imagine. Nos. 1-4, 9, 22, 28, and 30 are nearly or wholly identical, as are 5, 7, 11, 17 and 10, 18, 26, 27 and 12, 19 and 23, 25 and 24, 29 and 6, 8. Luis de Leon denied 2-4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 17 (= 5), 18, 20, 21, and 29 (= 24). With Grajal he held that there was no *literal* promise of eternal life in the Old Testament (cf. *Doc. inéd.* xi. 287 and x. 212).

² He repeats this on March 12, 1575 (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 50).

Two days later he suggested Perez, Cancer, and Dr. Hernando del Castillo. On July 31 the Supreme Court at Madrid authorized him to choose Perez as *patrono*, but at the same time declared that investigation must be made as to the purity of his descent, 'y habrá dilacion en ello'. To one who had been imprisoned for twenty-eight months what words could be more convincing! On August 4, in defiance and despair, he named the Dominican Fray Mancio de Corpus Christi, Fray Bartolomé de Medina, and Cancer. It was not until October 9 that Fray Mancio was presented to him as *patrono* and proved favourable to the accused, but Luis de Leon soon repented his choice, accusing him of deliberate delay. On October 25 he formally rejected him, but a few weeks later, on December 7, after explanations had been given, he accepted him once more. On January 13, 1575, he again had occasion to complain of Mancio's dilatoriness. On March 12 he asks to be allowed the Sacraments (after three years) and a week later, on March 19, we find the Supreme Court suggesting 'brevedad' in his trial. On March 30 Mancio conferred with the prisoner during over three and a half hours and on April 7 pronounced favourably as to his views on the Vulgate. It might now seem that the next step would be Luis de Leon's release, but the reports of the official *calificadores* had yet to be received. On May 4 and 6, and again on July 14 and September 12, Luis de Leon offered to defend his views 'en publica disputa' (against the *calificadores*), a course which would hardly recommend itself to the hidebound formalism of the Inquisition. He suggested, if more *patronos* were needed, the names of Dr. Valcarcer, Canon of Avila, Dr. Vadillo, Canon of Palencia, Fray Francisco Cueto, and Dr. Cancer. As May, 1575, came and the heat began to increase, he may have felt that his strength would scarcely tide him over another summer in prison. His hopes had been raised high by Mancio's approval, he felt that there was no case against him, he had once more refuted the thirty propositions, and he now let his impatience unmistakably appear. 'Your worships are protracting my trial and imprisonment without any legal ground'; 'the only object is to keep me in prison since you cannot find me guilty, but as it is a grave offence against God to arrest without cause, even so you cannot extend

my imprisonment a single day without urgent and lawful reasons'.¹ 'I have been three years in prison without any ground,' he says on May 4, 'and not only do I deserve no punishment, but deserve to be thanked and rewarded, as is sufficiently well known.' That was a terrible summer in the Valladolid prison. In July he complains that, although by law and right he should be acquitted, he is kept in prison like a heretic, without the use of the Sacraments, endangering his life and soul, and beseeches the Inquisitors to allow him 'a free death among my friars'. 'If', he adds, 'your worships are annoyed by all the scandal that has been raised, visit your annoyance not on me who am suffering without cause but on the bad Christians who deceived you and made you their executioners, scandalizing the Church and profaning the authority of this Holy Office'.² On August 20 he appeared before them wasted with fever, and asked that he might be allowed a friar, preferably his old comrade Fray Alonso Siluente, to look after him, so as not to die 'alone between four walls'. Luis de Leon might be dying, but the customary forms must be observed; the request was forwarded to Madrid, and it was not until exactly one month later that permission was received, on condition that the friar, Siluente or another, must remain in prison till the end of the trial.³ Meanwhile, on September 9, Grajal had died; but if the Inquisitors expected to be given similar news concerning Luis de Leon their expectations were not realized, and on September 12 they received a long statement from him characterized by his customary vigour. He repeats that he is legally free, declares that it is a great pity that theologians, men who consider themselves theologians, should condemn certain very simple propositions, says that his innocence is clearer than noonday, that you cannot find what does not exist, and that if they will kindly inform him of any further suspicions against him he will undertake to dispel them.⁴ In a letter to the Grand Inquisitor, received at Madrid on November 21, he requested to be sent to a convent.⁵ The seventeen Latin propositions concerning the Vulgate had been examined

¹ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 142, 143, 145.

² *Doc. inéd.* xi. 149-50.

³ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 188, 194.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 189-94.

⁵ 'aunque sea en S. Pablo' [the Dominican convent at Valladolid], *Doc. inéd.* xi. 196-8.

by Drs. Cancer, Ramos, and Frechilla. Those of the propositions which they condemned were then submitted to Fray Domingo Bañez, Dr. Antonio de Arce, Dr. Espinosa, and Francisco Asenjo Gallego. On March 22, 1576, Luis de Leon presented a further defence and on May 5 formally demanded sentence and declared his defence definitively concluded. Fray Hernando del Castillo's opinion, subscribed also by Cancer and Arce, on the seventeen Latin propositions concerning the Vulgate was handed in on June 2. It acquitted the author of heresy, but blamed him for picking holes in the Vulgate (*dejarla tan en los huesos*) and for having raised the question in such times and lectured on it to a multitude of students, among whom many would be simple and foolish, free or ill-intentioned; 'every truth is not for all times and persons.'¹ Fray Nicolas Ramos (June 3) was more lenient, but regretted that a door should be opened which might lead to the gradual destruction of the Vulgate.² The opinions of Ramos, Cancer, and Arce on the five propositions were received on the following days. On the 18th and 19th they jointly qualified the thirty propositions, condemning some of them as heretical, but as to the Vulgate declared that the Council of Trent had not made it an article of faith that there could not be a better translation in points of grammar and style. On September 25 the prisoner was again examined on this point and flared up when it was suggested that his answer was an evasion.³ On the following day he further explained his answer in writing. The trial was at last drawing to an end. On September 28 the Inquisitors Francisco de Menchaca and Andrés de Alava and the judges Luis Tello Maldonado and Francisco de Albornoz sentenced Luis de Leon to be examined on the rack 'notwithstanding the fact that the theologians now profess themselves satisfied with the answers he has given to the propositions condemned as heretical', 'and as the accused is of delicate health the torture shall be applied moderately.'⁴ The Inquisitors Guijano de Mercado⁵ and Dr.

¹ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 228-30; Cano in 1559 had said of Carranza: 'tiene poco respeto a los tiempos en que vive.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 231; cf. x. 115: 'abrir una puerta perniciosísima' (Antonio de Arce).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 349 ('no eran evasiones sino llanezas y la pura verdad').

⁴ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 352.

⁵ He had taken part in the trial from the beginning. For the other Inquisi-

Frechilla were of opinion that he should be reprimanded for having dealt with this subject in these times, be ordered to appear before the University of Salamanca in the Schools and declare the propositions doubtful and suspicious, and be prevented by his superiors from lecturing henceforth in the Schools or elsewhere. His version of the *Song of Songs* was to be withdrawn from circulation.¹ The judge Don Pedro de Castro promised to give his opinion in writing: it could not save Fray Luis from the rack. For forty days his fate hung in the balance, but on December 7 the Supreme Court at Madrid quashed the sentence and ordered that he should be acquitted. The *Song of Songs* was to be seized.² A few days later at Valladolid, Luis de Leon stood before the Inquisitors to hear his sentence read. On December 15 he asked for a certificate of his acquittal and for an order for the salary of his Chair to be paid from the time of his arrest to the year 1573, when it became vacant.³ Both requests were granted. Martín Martínez was acquitted in the following year and Luis de Leon had the satisfaction of seeing Grajal acquitted posthumously in January 1578.

What was done by Luis de Leon's friends on his behalf during his imprisonment? Probably they felt that there was little to be done beyond discreet pressure very occasionally and at the right moment. In view of King Philip's regalism Arias Montano and Chacon would only have done him more harm than good by advocating his cause at Rome, but it was perhaps at their suggestion that Pedro de Fontidueñas, Canon of Salamanca († 1579) (he had been present at the Council of Trent and later became Archdeacon of Alba), wrote a letter explaining matters to Cardinal Hosius.⁴ Quiroga, a friend of Salinas and friendly

tors who intervened in it (Diego Gonzalez, Francis o Realiego, Valcarcer, Andrés de Santos, Andrés de Alava, Pedro de Quiroga) see Reusch, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 353.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 353-4.

³ One notes that in his sentence he is described as 'catedrático de Durando', the words *que fué*, previously used, being omitted.

⁴ 'Ex hac enim Schola Salmantina prodierunt et in ea versantur qui has modo tragoedias excitarunt. Qui mihi videntur, suscepta Rufini persona, bellum denuo santissimis Hieronimi manibus movere voluisse. Adripiunt enim ansam, ut dixi, ex Concilii decreto quo decernitur ut haec ipsa Vulgata . . . quae quidem ita illi accipiunt ut non modo qui de ejus aliquid auctoritate detraxerint sed qui vel punctis et apicibus Vulgatae editionis fidem non

to the Augustinians, became Grand Inquisitor in the year after Luis de Leon's arrest, but it was not until after he had become Archbishop of Toledo that Fray Luis was acquitted. The Duke of Escalona, Marqués de Villena, to whom in 1576 Dr. Francisco de Avila, Canon of Belmonte and a personal friend of Luis de Leon,¹ dedicated his *Didlogos*, had Jewish blood in his veins and was, we may be sure, careful not to interfere.² Portocarrero was in Galicia, but it was no doubt owing to his intervention that Luis de Leon was not examined upon the rack and was finally acquitted. According to Herrera, the General of the Augustinian Order, Taddeo Guidelli of Perugia, wrote to the Provincial of Spain³ concerning Luis de Leon on June 30, 1572. A few months later, in November, 1572, the University of Salamanca wrote to Espinosa's successor as Grand Inquisitor, D. Pedro Ponce de Leon, Bishop of Plasencia, on behalf of the imprisoned professors, Grajal, Martinez, and Luis de Leon, and again in December, 1574, to the Grand Inquisitor Quiroga, Bishop of Cuenca.⁴ That his enemies expected that a man so excitable as Luis de Leon and so frank would implicate himself irremediably under arrest was evident, and they, rather than the Inquisition itself, must bear the odium for his long imprisonment. Here was a professor with many enemies, not mealy-mouthed, a keen supporter of the Jew Grajal, bold and

adhibuerint haereseos crimen incurrisse clament. Deinde non licere jam confugere ad Hebraeos et Graecos codices, immo vero illos per hanc latinam Vulgatam editionem esse corrigendos . . . Res est plena publicae offensionis et quae serpat quotidie longius non sine periculo multorum.' (Ap. Tomas González Carvajal, *Elogio histórico del Doctor Benito Arias Montano*, in *Memoorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, t. vii (1832), *Doc.* 53, p. 170.) For the historian Mariana's comments on the persecution of Salamanca professors see Reusch, op. cit., pp. 78-9.

¹ *Doc. inéd.* x. 476, 477. He had sent Fray Luis a copy of Cipriano de la Huerga's lectures on music among the Jews.

² This was Don Juan Pacheco, the 5th Duke. In the middle of Philip II's reign there were twenty-three Spanish dukes, with a total income of one and a half million ducats. The Duke of Escalona, with 90,000 ducats, was one of the richest, coming immediately after those of Medina Sidonia, with 130,000 ducats, and Medina de Rioseco and Osuna (*cr.* 1562), with 100,000 each.

³ *Historia del Convento de San Agustín de Salamanca*, cap. lviii. The volume from which the words were quoted ('Dolnimus de captura M. Ludovici Legionensis et ad eum adiuvandum hortati sumus') is missing from the Archives of the Vatican (C. Muñíos Sáenz, *El 'Declamamos Ayer'* (1908), p. 41).

⁴ See Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, iii. 407.

even rash in his statements of doctrine, fiery in his denunciations, a man of an invincible spirit, who, after weary months of imprisonment, kept telling the Inquisitors what it was their duty to do, and demanding that his accusers should be summarily punished.¹ And this man was regarded as an oracle in the Schools.² If one cannot excuse the continual delays, one can at least understand that the local Inquisitors should be not unwilling to protract his trial and had changed their opinion of July 1572, that 'importa la brevedad'.³

¹ See *Doc. inéd.* x. 404, 406, 418, 439, 440, 444, 495, 498; xi. 150.

² 'tenían [mis oyentes] por oraculo cualquier cosa que les decía' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 428).

³ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 295.

VIII

Portus Quietis

till morn

Break, and my day be born,
And on the Mount of Myrrh burn golden white
Light from the Light of Light.

WILLIAM CORY.

¡ Dichosos aquellos que llegan salvos al puerto !
Luz de luz y resplandor de resplandor.

LUIS DE LEON.

§ i. 1577. *Return to Salamanca. Dicebamus hesterna die. At Madrid.*

On the afternoon of Sunday, December 30, 1576, a crowd of gentlemen, professors of the University and others, trooped out of Salamanca along the Valladolid road to meet Luis de Leon, and accompanied him into the town to the sound of drums and trumpets.¹ Twenty-four hours later, at a full meeting of the University, the Commissary of the Holy Office declared that Luis de Leon had been acquitted unconditionally, and that it was the will of the Inquisitors that he should be restored to his former rank and honour and to the Chair held by him at the time of his arrest. The Rector, Don Alvaro de Mendoza, proceeded to make a speech expressing the delight of the University at Luis de Leon's acquittal, and the Commissary left. Luis de

¹ Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iv. 1328 : ' Año de 76, martes 23 [11] de diciembre día de San Dámaso, dieron por libre a fr. Luis sin pena. Y donde [domingo] a 30 de diciembre entró en Salamanca a las tres de la tarde con atabales, trompetas y gran acompañamiento de Caballeros, Doctores, Maestros, &c. Y lunes adelante le presentó el Comisario al Claustro, para que se le diese su propio lugar, honra y cátedra de Durando. El no la quiso y la Universidad le dió 200 ducados de partido. Miercoles [partido miercoles] a 2 de Enero de 77, y martes a 29 comenzó a leer. Hubo gran concurso, &c.' The author of this note wrote at the end of the sixteenth century. He is accurate except for what appear to be misprints. Persons acquitted by the Holy Office were usually received with musical honours. The same anonymous author says of Martínez that on June 17, 1577, 'entró en Salamanca con atabales.' Cf. *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. lxxv. Introd., p. xciii : ' Cuando iba [Juan de Avila] a dar principio a su sermon sonaron trompetas y chirimías en señal de regocijo por la declaración de su inocencia.'

Leon then returned thanks and, seeing that his Chair was held by the Benedictine Padre Garcia del Castillo, he freely renounced it¹ and besought the University to show him favour in some other way, so that his innocence and acquittal might be manifest to all. There is perhaps no reason to think that Luis de Leon in this gave proof of special magnanimity. The Chair and its salary were, properly speaking, not his but his convent's; he had no right to renounce them, and in his strict regard for justice would not have done so had he not been assured previously that he would receive a new Chair of Theology, which was in fact of far greater value than the Chair of Durando; the latter was only worth 25,000 *maravedis* (= 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ducats), whereas a salary of 200 ducats went with the new *partido*. After Luis de Leon's speech the Rector requested him to leave the meeting and discussion began. Other claimants for a similar favour came forward, the Dominican Fray Domingo de Guzmán, the Carmelite Fray Bartolomé Sanchez, Dr. Gonzalo Suarez de Paz, and the Mercenarian Fray Francisco Zumel, and the meeting finally broke up without doing justice to Luis de Leon. It had thrown an unpleasant light on the character of Fray Bartolomé de Medina, who showed himself, as usual, specious and suave, but deadly and disloyal in his hatred of Luis de Leon: 'les gens sans bruit sont dangereux.' He expressed the opinion that the Holy Office must be obeyed and that Fray Luis could not renounce his Chair. It was just that he should be recompensed as he deserved, but not at this meeting or without due deliberation, as this might not be well received at Court (*ni sonara bien en corte*), and that if the practice of giving Chairs in this way were introduced it would be very pernicious and injurious to the interests of the University (*en fraude del bien comun*); yet a moment later, with imperturbable coolness, he voted that 'a Chair of two hundred ducats should be given to Fray Domingo Guzman, and not to Fray Luis de Leon until the matter be further considered.'² A second meeting was held on January 2,

¹ 'la da por bien empleada (see p. 298 of the article by Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Fr. Luis de León en libertad*, in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniiano*, Mayo y Junio de 1923, pp. 295-309).

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Fr. Luis de León en libertad* in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniiano*, Mayo y Junio de 1923, pp. 303-5.

1577. Fray Luis was obliged to renew his request and then withdrew, leaving his vote to Fray Bartolomé de Medina.¹ After many of those present had referred very cordially to Fray Luis de Leon, voting ensued, and only one 'black almond' was recorded against him, nine against Guzman.² A dispute now arose as to the hour at which the new professors were to deliver their lectures. The question was important, as Fray Luis would be likely to attract students from other lecture-rooms. The only hour free from this objection was one to two in the afternoon, but this did not suit Luis de Leon's health and he asked for that of ten to eleven. It was the hour at which Fray Diego Rodriguez lectured on Theology. Before the prospect of addressing empty benches he and the Dominicans who supported him were up in arms. Fray Bartolomé de Medina suggested the hour of four to five. The matter was put to the vote and Luis de Leon was victorious; the Rector, however, reserved his decision. On the morning of January 29, in the presence of many students and persons belonging to the University, Luis de Leon formally took possession of his new Chair in the Schools. The dispute as to the hour was still unsettled, and he protested that he would not be liable to the customary fines should he fail to lecture before an hour had been assigned.³ For the moment he had the hour of his choice, for it was ten o'clock. 'On Tuesday the 29th he began to lecture, there was a great attendance,' says the anonymous contemporary writer, perhaps a Jesuit, quoted by Gallardo, agreeing in this with the official account.⁴ It is as unlikely that this eager crowd had come merely to hear Luis de

¹ *Archivo Histórico*, July-August 1923, pp. 23-37; Getino, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-4. This again was clearly no act of magnanimity, but a recognized way of paralysing an opponent or simply of pairing: thus the Dominican Fray Domingo de Guzman leaves his vote to the Augustinian Fray Juan de Guevara.

² *Archivo Histórico*, *loc. cit.*, p. 35; Getino, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

³ *Libro de Claustros*, ap. Getino, p. 262: 'en lugar de posesion leyó un poco. E dijo y protestó el dicho maestro que él tomaba la posesion e que estaba y está presto de leer el dicho salario e partido, e que si no leyere no se le pare por ello perjuicio . . .'

⁴ *Libro de Claustros*, ap. Getino, p. 263: 'siendo presentes por todo el Padre Mo. Fray Pedro de Uceda e el Padre Geronimo de la Cruz e Fray Agustín de Figuereda e Antonio de Almaraz, bedel, e otros muchos estudiantes y personas de la Universidad.' Cf. Gallardo, iv. 1328 *ut supra*; 'Hubo gran concurso.'

Leon speak a few formal words as it is that Antonio de Almaraz, the University bedel, had come to listen to a lecture on theology. When Fray Pedro de Uceda, Fray Geronimo de la Cruz, Fray Agustin de Figuereda, with the University bedel and the notary Bartolomé Sanchez, in fact all those persons present in an official capacity, had withdrawn, we can imagine Luis de Leon turning to the friendly rows of students and continuing his lecture in a very different tone. Were an Oxford professor to resume his lectures after an absence of five years he would be confronted by nothing but new faces, but at Salamanca in the sixteenth century theological students often spent nine years at the University, and without a doubt many of Luis de Leon's old pupils had thronged to the lecture-room. The secrecy imposed by the Holy Office was well known. Luis de Leon had in fact been solemnly warned by the Inquisition on December 11, 1576, under pain of excommunication and rigorous punishment, to maintain secrecy as to all that had passed and to display no vindictiveness.¹ 'I do not wish for vengeance,' he himself had written;² but numerous passages in his works subsequently published must have made very bitter reading for those who had caused his arrest and for the Inquisitors, who considered themselves insulted by the very emblem which he chose for his title-pages.³ The present occasion offered similar scope for allusions, professions of innocence, and severe reflections on malevolent persons. His lectures were intensely personal, his fearless outspokenness was known to all. He might reasonably be expected to go so far as he could without incurring the censure of the Holy Office. But he is said to have preferred the even greater effect of a studied simplicity and to have begun with

¹ *Doc. inéd.*, xi. 356-7: 'Fuéle mandado so pena de excomunion y de ser castigado con rigor que guarde mucho secreto de todo lo que con él ha pasado y toca a su proceso; y que se le manda así mesmo so las dichas censuras y penas que no tenga pasion ni disensiones ningunas con persona alguna sospechando que haya testificado contra él en esta su causa, porque de todo lo que a esto tocare se tratará dello en este Santo Oficio y se procederá contra él, en lo que se hallare culpado, con rigor; que por escripto ni de palabra ni por terceras personas lo haga.' In innumerable passages of his works Luis de Leon refers clearly to his imprisonment and release. Cf. the beautiful passage of *De los Nombres de Cristo* (iii. 107-9).

² *Opera*, i. 167: 'Ego illos ulcisci non cupio.' (*In Psalmum XXVI.*)

³ See *infra*, p. 174, n. 6.

the words 'Dicebamus hesterna die'. The previous five years of suffering fell away, he was back at Salamanca, which had been his home for thirty years, reinstated in his professorial rank, and the past was forgotten. It is idle to object that he did not continue his lectures, but began a new course of lectures in a new Chair. It was not the Chair but the lecturer that attracted students. They came from the Basque Provinces and Extremadura, drawn by the reputation of a Vitoria or a Brocense. The fame of Luis de Leon must have attracted more than one from the little town of Belmonte. It is probable, however, that the words, if spoken, were deliberately artificial, although not the result of previous design. The front benches of the lecture-room must have been occupied that morning by students very well known to the lecturer; the expectation on their faces was obvious, the temptation to satisfy it was strong, and Fray Luis may have thought it necessary and wise to destroy all such expectations forthwith and to remind himself and them that this was not a political meeting but a theological lecture: 'We were saying yesterday.' The artifice, as we have said, was intentional: his audience would not be composed wholly of friends, and he had had experience enough of how malicious could be the reports of students. With characteristic energy he cut away the ground beneath their feet by means of a phrase. If the words were not actually spoken we may explain the tradition by assuming that the story originated in remarks of students who went to the lecture with great expectations and came away disappointed, saying that it had been a mere 'as we were saying yesterday' lecture. The story was first recorded by Nicolas Cruesen, a Flemish Augustinian, acquainted with Spain personally and by report; it was written by him not later than 1612 and published in 1623, when Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon, known to the writer as Fray Luis's nephew and perhaps known to him personally, and who was for many years a prominent professor at Salamanca, was still alive. Cruesen, inaccurate on other points concerning Luis de Leon, may have been inaccurate in this (in the exact sense in which he understood it the story can hardly stand), but it would be characteristic of Spain that a foreigner should be the first to record a well-known fact which Spanish writers had not troubled to set in print. The story is in accordance with

what we know of Luis de Leon's independent character, for if he might and did indulge in frequent references to his imprisonment, he would resolutely refuse to do so at the bidding of others. The chief obstacles to belief in it are that the words, as spoken in a new course of lectures, would be thoroughly artificial and that the lecture on January 29 was confined to a few formal words (the official account no doubt only recorded what was of official interest: the formal possession of the Chair). As we have seen, both obstacles admit of explanation. It remains highly probable that Luis de Leon delivered a real lecture on January 29. The professors had to deliver two hundred lectures each in the course of the academic year, and hours were eagerly disputed. It was too late for any other professor to use the lecture-room that morning and an empty lecture-room represented a whole ducat, an important sum.¹ Six months later,² on July 28, 1577, six weeks before the end of the summer term, Luis de Leon obtained a month's leave (*mes de gracia*), which was granted to professors on their making application to the *Claustro*. It is not likely that Fray Luis, who disliked heat,³ went then to Madrid. He may more probably have gone to La Flecha or have visited relations at Belmonte or Granada. In October, however, he was at Madrid and, instead of returning to Salamanca on the 18th for the beginning of the University year, he took the month's leave (*mes de justicia*) to which he was entitled, followed by another 'month of grace' (Nov. 18-Dec. 18) which he applied for and obtained on November 20.⁴ The University commissioned him to assist its agent Gil de Nava in certain matters at Madrid, and for this it granted him thirty days' further leave, not counting Christmas week, so that he would now be free almost till the end of January.

¹ Concerning this most famous episode in Luis de Leon's life see Fray Conrado Muñoz Sáenz, *El 'Decíamos Ayer'*; Getino, *Vida y Procesos*, pp. 239-58, 262-3; J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Fray Luis de Leon* (1921), pp. 147-51; Adolphe Coster, *Luis de Leon*, Pt. II, pp. 15-18.

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *La Universidad de Salamanca y Fr. Luis de León* in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Diciembre de 1919, p. 328. Five days before, on July 23, 1577, he had been appointed, with El Brocense and others, one of a committee to examine and catalogue the books of the University library and to revise the system of teaching Latin provided by the Regentes de Gramática.

³ This is clear from many passages in his works and letters.

⁴ *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, loc. cit., p. 329.

§ ii. 1578. *Reform of the Calendar.* *Luis de Leon wins the Chair of Moral Philosophy and takes his degree of Master of Arts.*

The long expected edition of the works of San Isidro was approaching completion, and Juan Lopez de Velasco, at the suggestion of Arias Montano and Fray Gabriel Pinelo, Prior of San Felipe (the Augustinian Convent at Madrid), who neither of them had time for the task, but were both of opinion that no one could perform it better than Fray Luis,¹ proposed that he should be officially entrusted with the revision of the commentary on the Pentateuch, and that application should be made for a further extension of his leave.² Fray Luis, however, fell ill at the Convent of San Felipe, with an abscess in his right side. He was attended by Gaspar de Avila, surgeon to the King, but the most skilful surgeons seem to have been uncertain as to the best treatment for this complaint.³ By February 6 the patient was on the highroad to recovery, and on the 20th he was back at Salamanca. He did not, however, resume his lectures until March 3, losing a further thirteen ducats in fines.⁴ Fresh labours were in store for him. On January 11, 1578, Pope Gregory XIII took a final step towards the reform of the Calendar which had occupied so many acute minds since the beginning of the century and to which several learned Spaniards had made notable contributions; ⁵ indeed as early as 1515 the matter had been considered by Salamanca University, in its answer to Pope Leo X,

¹ *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, loc. cit., p. 331: 'ninguno la podrá corregir con más suficiencia y autoridad que Fray Luis.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 334: 'el qual mes se cumplio a diez y ocho de enero deste presente año. Antes que se cumpliese este mes como ocho o diez días a lo que me puedo acordar estuve malo de una apostema en el lado derecho.' This would be January 8 or 10, whereas had he counted in Christmas week it would have been January 15 or 17, i. e. a few days after, not before, Lopez de Velasco's proposal (January 12).

³ Cf. Fray José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ii (1909), p. 507. Luis de Leon speaks of the 'clavos agudos de dolor increíble' of *postemas* (*Exposicion de Job*, ii. 7; cf. vi. 4).

⁴ *Archivo Histórico*, ut *supra*, pp. 335-7. He was fined at the rate of a ducat a day, the number of lectures to be delivered each year in his 200 ducat Chair being 200. The thirty days granted him by the University and the Christmas holidays brought him nearly to the end of January, and he received twenty days' leave on account of illness.

⁵ The most important were Pedro Chacon's *Calendarii Romani Veteris Explanatio* (Antverpiae 1568) and Ginés de Sepúlveda's *De Correctione*

in terms resembling¹ those of Luigi Lilio now submitted by the Pope to the criticism of the University and its learned mathematicians.² His letter, forwarded by the Nuncio in Spain, was received on April 27, 1578.³ A committee to consider the reform was appointed, consisting of Dr. Diego de Vera, Fray Luis de Leon, Fray Bartolomé de Medina, Fray Domingo Bañez, and Dr. Cosme de Medina.⁴ During the next six months several urgent letters from King and Nuncio arrived at the University, entreating for an answer to the Pope's letter, but it was not until October 21 that the answer of the University, written in Latin, perhaps by Luis de Leon, and favourable to the reform, was forthcoming.⁵ The reform, finally drawn up by a committee of which Pedro Chacon formed part, was promulgated by Pope Gregory on February 24, 1582, and accepted forthwith for Spain and her dominions by Philip II.⁶ Vera, consulted on the subject by the University, was of opinion that the Maestro Miguel Frances, Dr. Gabriel Gomez, and the Franciscan Padre Alcocer should receive some suitable reward for their services (the first two received twenty-four ducats each and the Franciscan a new frock) and that the University should take special account of those rendered by Luis de Leon, Medina, and Bañez.⁷ Meanwhile, on June 23, 1578, the death of the Bishop of Segorbe had created a vacancy in one of the four proprietary Chairs of Philosophy—that of Moral Philosophy. A *partido*—that is, a special Chair such as Luis de Leon now occupied—could scarcely be expected to last beyond the four years for which it was originally bestowed, and had no share in the yearly bonus from the surplus of the University's income, and, although the Chair of Moral Philosophy was only worth 26,500 *maravedis*, the bonus may have brought its emoluments to nearly 200 ducats.⁸ The contest

Anni Mensiumque Romanorum (Venetis, 1546). Gallardo speaks of a MS. of Luis de Leon's friend, Salinas, on the reform of the Calendar.

¹ Fray L. G. Alonso Getino, *Vida y procesos*, p. 300.

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

⁶ *Pragmatica* of September 19, 1582 (Lisbon).

⁷ See Fray L. G. Alonso Getino, *Vida y procesos*, pp. 295-7.

⁸ Cf. Fray Guillermo Vázquez Núñez, *El Padre Francisco Zumel* in *Revista de Archivos*, t. xxxiii (1918), p. 179-80: 'tenía de salario 100 florines, que, tasados

for the Chair between Luis de Leon and Francisco Zumel, Rector of the Mercenarian Convent at Salamanca (his junior by thirteen years), was a fierce one. Charges of bribery and corruption were rife. According to Zumel, a relative of Luis de Leon, Juan de Leon, Treasurer of the Collegiate Church of Belmonte, who had come to Salamanca, was, with his servants, publicly giving dinners and money to students with votes. They had even, he alleged, attempted to break into the Convent of Vera Cruz and assault Zumel, its Rector. Similar accusations were forthcoming against Zumel. On August 4 Luis de Leon won the Chair by a majority of 79, obtaining 301 votes to Zumel's 222. It was a notable victory, since the whole of the votes of the Dominicans, to the number of one hundred, had gone to Zumel, and to counteract this Luis de Leon only had the much smaller number (thirty-five) of the Augustinian votes and his personal prestige. He now held a Chair for life, and in the ordinary course of events might expect to retire in 1598 with a bishopric and still in possession of the Chair.¹ Within six months, in accordance with the Statutes of the University, he took his degree of Master of Arts. He did so at the college established in the famous Benedictine Monastery of San Facundo at Sahagun (midway between Leon and Palencia), receiving his Master's cap, ring, and book at the hands of the Abbot, Fray Juan de Boyza, on October 11,² and incorporating his degree at the University of Salamanca a fortnight later (October 25) at three o'clock in the afternoon. To each of the doctors and masters present the

constantemente a 265 maravedis, montaban anualmente 780 reales (o poco menos), debiendo explicar 200 lecciones al año; pero este sueldo tenía siempre un gran aumento con el residuo de las rentas universitarias; de modo que Zumel cobró siempre unos 2,000 reales, sin los gajes, propinas de grados, &c.' The ducat = 375 maravedis.

¹ For the holders of Chairs at Salamanca in the sixteenth century, as well as for a mass of other very valuable information, see Bartolomé Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia pragmática e interna de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 2 vols., Salamanca, 1914, 1917. Professors of the Prima Chair of Theology were Francisco de Vitoria (1526-46), Cano (1546-52), Soto (1552-60), Pedro de Sotomayor (1560-64), Mancio de Corpus Christi (1564-76), Bartolomé de Medina (1576-80), Bañez (1581-1604). The Chair of *Biblia* in the second half of the century was held by Gregorio Gallo (1540-79), Luis de Leon (1579-91), and Juan Alonso de Curiel.

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago, *Magisterio en Artes de Fr. Luis* in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Mayo 1916, pp. 325-36: 'die undecima mensis octobris' (p. 331).

new Master of Arts was under the obligation of paying forty-eight *reales*: on the present occasion this would amount to the very large sum of 2,500 *reales*.¹ After the University bedel had duly paid out the golden *castellanos* on Luis de Leon's behalf, Maestro Henrique Hernandez, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, placed on the graduate's head the Master of Arts' cap with blue tuft, and on the fourth finger of his left hand a gold ring, and in his hand a book, and gave him the kiss of peace, then conducting him to give the kiss of peace to the Chancellor (Pedro de Guevara), Vice-Rector (Andrés Ponce de Leon), and all the assembled masters and doctors of the University.

§ iii. 1579-82. *Luis de Leon wins the Chair of Scripture. Lectures on Ecclesiastes. Publishes his first book. Lectures on Thessalonians, Psalms, and Deuteronomy.*

The death of the Bishop of Segovia, Gregorio Gallo, proprietor of the Chair of Scripture (*Biblia*), on September 25, 1579, involved Luis de Leon in an even more closely contested election. In the Chair of Moral Philosophy he would have to lecture chiefly on the *Ethics* of Aristotle, and Hebrew and exposition of the Scriptures must be neglected; the Chair of Scripture was more nearly connected with his favourite studies. For this Chair his competitor was a son of the poet Garci Lasso de la Vega, the Dominican Fray Domingo de Guzman, who had been a fellow student of theology with Luis de Leon thirty-three years earlier,² and who had put forward a claim to a special Chair after Leon's release in 1576. Garci Lasso's poetical genius does not appear to have been happy in transmission. In 1542, just before or just after Luis de Leon left Valladolid to go up to Salamanca, a son of Garci Lasso had got himself into trouble at Valladolid by nailing a lampoon in verse to the door of the church of San Pablo, opposite the palace where Philip II was born.³ Now Fray

¹ For a full list of those present see *ibid.*, p. 329; the list includes the names of Zumel, Guzman, Medina, Salinas, el Brocense, Azpilcueta (who had been in Rome since 1567), Martín Martínez, and Juan de Leon, *jurista*.

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, vol. iii (1917), p. 428.

³ Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *De Rebus Gestis Caroli V*, lib. xx, §§ 22-4: 'Per id tempus tres nobiles adolescentes Latine non ignari, dum se docte ac facete ludere ac Romanam libertatem et Pasquini vocati licentiam imitari impune

Domingo wrote a gloss, more malicious than felicitous, of Fray Luis's lines composed on leaving prison, beginning *Aquí la envidia y mentira*. This was not the only poetical talent called forth by the election; partisans of Fray Luis circulated the lines:

Luis y Mingo pretenden
Casarse con Ana bella:
Cada cual pretende habella,
Mas, segun todos entienden,
Muérese por Luis ella.
(Dominick and Louis both
Are suitors for fair Anna's hand:
Each to give her up is loath,
But, as all may understand,
She to Louis plights her troth.)¹

Luis de Leon did not love the Dominicans, and, as he had reason to suspect, the Dominicans did not love Fray Luis. Nothing but a parliamentary election in an English borough in the nineteenth century could give an idea of the excitement that prevailed in Salamanca as the two giants, the Augustinian Convent and that of San Esteban, on the other side of the cathedral, prepared for the fray.² The election agents or *catedreros* of both convents can have known no peace; the Dominicans were determined to crush a victorious and persistent enemy, and the enthusiasm of the students who supported them clashed with the enthusiasm of those who supported Fray Luis. On November 8 Luis de Leon duly took the oath to observe the statutes concerning elections.³ On the 25th, at half past seven

posse putant, contumeliosum libellum confecerunt ex Virgilii potissimum et Horatii carminibus coagmentatum . . . Erat autem eorum . . . alter Garciae Lassi sed nothus filius.'

¹ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. xxxii, p. x.

² Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iv. 1328: 'En este año domingo 6 de diciembre se proveyo la [catedra] de Biblia a Fr Luis de Leon, y el dia siguiente tomó la posesion: tuvo 281 votos y el maestro fr. Domingo de Guzman tuvo 245; ganóla con 36 votos. Reguláronse los cursos y vino a llevarla por solos tres cursos, y esto fué quitando un voto señalado que tenía cinco cursos, el cual se sospechó era Dominicano. No pudiendo conformarse con él, hubo concierto entre los frailes, que votasen de Santo Domingo 100 y de San Agustin 50. Anduvo pleito hasta viernes 13 de Octubre de 81, que sentenciaron en Valladolid en favor de fr. Luis de Leon.' For exact details of the counting and revision of votes on December 5 and 6 see *Archivo Histórico*, September 1916, pp. 199-203.

³ Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Oposiciones de Fr. Luis de León a la*

in the morning, he was called from his bed to attend a meeting of the Claustro summoned for seven o'clock of that very day with a view to taking the preliminary steps for the election.¹ He attended and protested against such treatment.² The chapters chosen for their 'election address' were the 42nd of Jeremiah by Guzman and the 46th by Fray Luis. The latter was represented in the election by Don Francisco Manuel, Archdeacon of Salamanca, and three other *procuradores*. The Augustinians were accused of swelling the vote of their Order with theological students from outside Salamanca from 34 to 105, while that of the Dominicans was alleged to have been doubled by this and other methods (from about 80 to 171, much the same proportion as in 1561, when Luis de Leon says they increased from 50 to nearly 100). Finally, on December 5, they came to an agreement that the Dominican vote should stand at 100 and the Augustinian at 50.³ Ten weeks after the death of Bishop Gallo all was over. The result was announced on December 6 and gave Luis de Leon a majority of 36 votes. It was found on examination that the margin was even narrower, the majority being reduced to one vote or less (three terms), and that after a vote equal to five terms and thought to be Dominican had been rejected.⁴ The Dominicans appealed and the affair dragged on for nearly two years, being finally decided in Luis de Leon's favour at Valladolid on October 13, 1581. The Dominicans were not convinced, and declared that twenty years later a supporter of Fray Luis confessed that he had voted illegally and now paid 8,000 *reales* conscience money to the Convent of San Esteban.⁵ Possibly he was not the only elector who had voted illegally. Harassed only by this uncertainty, Luis de Leon,

Catedra de Biblia in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Septiembre de 1916, p. 194. (See also *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, vol. iii, pp. 452-8.)

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195: 'En Salamanca dia de Santa Catalina veinte y cinco del dicho mes de noviembre del dicho año a la hora de las siete y media de la mañana estando el maestro fr. luis en su celda y en la cama,' &c.

² *Ibid.*, p. 196: 'protestaba que apelaba de lo que con él se hacía.'

³ *Ibid.*, p. 199. Cf. Gallardo, iv. 1328.

⁴ Of the Prima Chair of Theology Dr. Miguel de Acosta was reported to have said that not for 10,000 ducats would he suffer it to go to the Augustinians, nor deprive the Dominicans of it for another 10,000. (*Archivo Histórico*, November 1916, p. 333.)

⁵ Fray Alonso Getino, *Vida y procesos*, pp. 268-73.

who had taken possession of his Chair on December 7, might now for the first time for many years feel some measure of security and peace. Leon de Castro, bitterly hostile to the end, had resigned his Chair at Salamanca in 1576, on accepting a canonry at Valladolid.¹ Fray Bartolomé de Medina died in December 1580. The influence of Portocarrero was rapidly increasing. Luis de Leon held one of the three proprietary Chairs of Scripture,² and began to lecture on the Book of Ecclesiastes, interrupted only by visits to Valladolid in connexion with the appeal concerning his Chair.³ In 1579 he served on a troublesome committee, which had to meet three evenings of every week in the house of the Maestrescuela, Don Pedro de Guevara, to draw up an Index at the bidding of the Pope.⁴ Three years after the flattering command of the Provincial of his order, Fray Pedro Xuarez, to publish his works⁵ he was able to give to the world his *In Cantica Canticorum*, together with a Latin commentary on Psalm xxvi (*Salmanticae*, 1580). The title-page of the book bore the emblem of a tree and an axe with the legend *Ab ipso ferro* from Bk. iv. Od. 4 of Horace's Odes. The allusions to his trial in the book were many and obvious, and the emblem itself was regarded by the Valladolid Inquisitors as an insolent challenge; on October 15, 1580, they wrote to the Inquisition at Madrid complaining of the insult.⁶ The learned and eloquent Dominican, Fray Hernando del Castillo (†1593), however, to whom the matter was referred, seems to have thought that any little asperities might be excused by the unfairness of the author's five years' imprisonment, or perhaps he realized that Luis de Leon was strongly protected: the emblem

¹ See P. U. González de la Calle, *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (1923), pp. 154-5, 449.

² The holder of a *cátedra de propiedad* might cease to lecture in person on St. John's Day, June 24, providing a substitute from then till the end of term (September 8). To one who disliked heat it was a great boon not to have to go to the Schools in the fiery months of July and August.

³ Cf. *Opera*, i. 508 (marginal note): 'aquí dexó el p^o fray Luis de Leon a 17 de agosto [1580], y siguió [*sic*] el p^o Tapia.' See also Mendez, *Vida*, ii. 156.

⁴ See Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo*, iii. 479.

⁵ *Opera*, i. ix. The order was dated Dec. 22, 1577.

⁶ 'en la enblema del libro bera v.s. quan desacatado es para el sancto offo'. The letter is printed by Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, November 1919, p. 257.

continued to appear in subsequent volumes and editions. The whole verse of Horace was printed and explained in the Commentary *In Abdiam*¹ and again (this time in Spanish verse) in the *Exposicion de Job*, and was alluded to elsewhere.² In the following year he was lecturing on Thessalonians, still interrupted by enforced journeys to Valladolid, when Fray Diego de Tapia replaced him in his Chair.³ At the beginning of the year he appears to have taken part in Bañez's candidature for the Prime Chair of Theology;⁴ otherwise all was peaceful, and in 1582 he was lecturing on Psalm lxxvii and on the 32nd chapter of Deuteronomy.

§ iv. 1582. *Luis de Leon is again denounced to the Inquisition.*

On January 20 of this year,⁵ however, occurred an incident which was destined to bring him into fresh trouble. On that day a Jesuit, Padre Prudencio de Montemayor, at a theological discussion at Salamanca, at which Fray Francisco Zumel presided, defended a point concerned with the doctrine of predestination: the merit of Christ during His life on earth. Luis de Leon does not seem to have been especially favourable to the Jesuits,⁶ but when in the uproar of the meeting Montemayor's words were misunderstood he intervened and repeated

¹ *Opera*, iii. 106.

² See *Exposicion de Job*, viii. 19 and 20; xi. 17 and 20; xiv. 9; xxii. 20. The passage of Horace is translated in the ode to Felipe Ruiz beginning *Qué vale cuanto vee*. ('Bien como la ñudosa Carrasca', &c.)

³ 'porque fué a Valladolid al pleito de su cátedra no pudo leer más de asta aqui, que harto lo sentimos todos' (marginal note in copy of lectures on Thessalonians, ii. 3). (*Opera*, iii. 481). Cf. *Opera*, iii. 447-8. He began lecturing on Saturday, December 19, 1579, and gave sixteen lectures till January 18, 1580. He was absent on the suit with Guzman from January 19 to June 18, but from June 25 to September 8 delivered fifty lectures. In the following academic year (1580-1) he only lectured forty-six times, and in that of 1581-2 he gave 185, being absent three days ('fué a su pleito'); in 1582-3 he gave 177 lectures and was absent eighteen days owing to illness (see *Archivo Histórico*, Marzo de 1918, pp. 187, 188).

⁴ See *infra*, p. 177, n. 3.

⁵ Zumel in his evidence says January 21 (*Segundo Proceso*, p. 287).

⁶ In his trial he cites the Salamanca Jesuits as witnesses in his defence; but elsewhere he alludes adversely to their patronage of the theatre. When in 1589 he with Zumel served on a committee to determine a dispute between the Jesuits and Dominicans he was favourable to the Jesuits. The suppression of praise of the Jesuits in Santa Teresa's *Vida* was more probably due to Medina than to Luis de Leon. See *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, t. liii (1861), pp. 117-18.

them.¹ This, far from allaying, increased the excitement. The doctrines maintained by Montemayor were ascribed to Fray Luis, and Zumel declared that it was sheer heresy; whereupon Fray Luis, although the opinion of the meeting, of Augustinian Guevara as well as of Mercenarian Zumel, was against him, said that to hold the opposite view was Lutheranism, and, although he had himself never taught or upheld the thesis in question, he continued to defend Montemayor and a doctrine maintained, as he said, by all the ancient fathers and many modern doctors of the Church. 'I was moved to do so', he says, 'because it seemed to me that the Dominicans, in their hostility to the Jesuits, were attempting to crush him, and also and especially because it appeared to me a great absurdity to condemn the doctrine as heretical.'² This meeting produced an extraordinary impression. Discussion soon surged through the University. When the Augustinians Fray Juan de Guevara and Fray Pedro de Aragon returned to their convent with a troop of theological students there was much argument about it and about. Luis de Leon argued with Juan de Guevara, students of theology argued with Luis de Leon in his cell. The friar who attended to his cell, Fray Baltasar de Reinoso, published abroad what he heard.³

In the University the cry was raised of 'new opinions contrary to St. Thomas and the truth', and many a student must have made his way to the Convents of Vera Cruz and San Esteban with reports of what was going on.⁴ The expectation that a Benedictine, Fray Juan de Castañeda, at a meeting to be held during the week, would defend similar opinions concerning predestination brought the excitement to fever point. The Prima Professor of Theology, Fray Domingo Bañez, lecturing in the Schools, was asked by the students to give his opinion and answered that the doctrine was 'opposed to that of St. Augustine

¹ Fray Francisco Blanco García, *Segundo Proceso instruido por la Inquisición de Valladolid contra Fr. Luis de León* in *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xli, September 20, 1896, pp. 106, 107.

² *Segundo Proceso*, p. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-7.

⁴ 'començaron a alborotarse los studiantes y dauan aviso a los hombres doctos de lo q^e se decia y platicaua entre ellos para que se pudiese remedio a la nouedad de opiniones que contra s^{to} thomas y la verdad se pretendía introducir' (*Segundo Proceso*, p. 34).

and St. Thomas and savoured of the Pelagian heresy'.¹ These words were repeated to Luis de Leon as he was about to begin a lecture. With his customary directness he replied: 'Tomorrow, gentlemen, there is a meeting of Lutherans, Pelagians, and Christians. I have requested and obtained the privilege of presiding in order that those fathers (the Dominicans) may mind how they qualify opinions.'² These words threw more fuel on the fire and the meeting of the next day was packed with students, not theological only, eager to witness the fray. Fray Diego Rodriguez, not Luis de Leon, was in the Chair, but the latter had a tussle with Bañez³, who accused him of quoting passages out of their context and averred that he had both St. Augustine and St. Thomas against him. According to Fray Juan de Santa Cruz, Luis de Leon answered that he could not deny this, but it was of no great account, since others differed from them in more serious matters. This meeting did not allay the prevailing excitement; groups of students and friars were to be seen everywhere discussing the 'new' opinions,⁴ and the exasperated Jesuits called a third meeting for Sunday, January 27, at which the Jesuit P. Enriquez presided, and the Hieronymite Fray Juan de Santa Cruz, Prior of Fresdelval, took part in the discussion. It was now generally felt that the matter would go further, and as he left this meeting P. Miguel Marcos, the *lector principal* of the Jesuits (Enriquez was their *segundo lector*), informed Santa

¹ *Segundo Proceso*, pp. 34-5. Cf pp. 103, 185 and 275.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32 and 35.

³ Fray Domingo Bañez came to Salamanca from his native Cantabria (Balmaseda) at the age of fifteen, and entered the Convent of San Esteban at about the same time as Medina. He befriended Santa Teresa (1515-82) in her sore need at Avila in 1562, and remained her friend to the end of her life. He survived her twenty-two years. On his defeating, by the narrow margin of fourteen votes, Luis de Leon's friend Fray Juan de Guevara as successor to Medina in the Prima Chair of Theology (212 votes to 198), Santa Teresa wrote (on March 4, 1581) to D. Ana Henriquez. 'Qué le parece a Vmd que honradamente salió fray domingo Bañez con su catedra? Plegue a Dios le guarde, pues ya poco más me ha quedado.' Luis de Leon had, as usual, stood by Guevara, and in one of his lectures had done a little canvassing on his friend's behalf, a marginal note recording that 'Aquí hizo el pe. Mo. fray luis aquella plática famosa de la catedra de prima' (*Opera*, iii. 425).

⁴ *Segundo Proceso*, p. 35: 'Interueniendo en esto gran rumor y alteracion en la scuela, y ansi, saliendo del acto los estudiantes y los religiosos, hazian corrillos tractando todos con sobresalto de aquellas cosas que se enseñauan tan fuera de lo comun, y particularmente los padres de la compañía salieron muy exasperados, &c.'

Cruz that 'if anything happened he could prove from his lectures that he held the traditional views.'¹ The matter was in fact denounced to the Inquisition at Valladolid by Santa Cruz himself early in February. He reported the incident at length and handed in sixteen condemnable propositions. Discussion still went on at Salamanca, and on February 8 Guevara presided at a theological debate (*acto mayor*) in the Schools, at which once more a Jesuit and Fray Luis de Leon defended the opinion in question, this time against Guevara. On the afternoon of March 8 Luis de Leon, as a precautionary measure, handed in to the Inquisitor at Salamanca a long account of what had occurred, and requested that those who were calumniating him and scandalizing the minds of the faithful should be punished.² On March 31 he again presented himself and handed in a note in which he declared that the opinion defended by the Jesuit was a difficult matter containing an appearance of novelty and a suspicion of temerity as differing from the ordinary scholastic doctrine, and therefore should not have been publicly discussed, and that he, Fray Luis, had only defended it in so far as to say that it was not heretical.³ Meanwhile, on March 13, an Augustinian, Fray Pedro de Aragon, presenting himself voluntarily at the office of the Inquisition, declared that he considered the opinions scandalous and temerarious, and that Luis de Leon had supported one of them although it was contrary to his own teaching.⁴ The witness's indignation (*que esto se debria remediar*) was certainly directed less against Luis de Leon, for whom later he elsewhere expressed the utmost admiration,⁵ than against the Jesuits. Another friar from the same convent (the Augustinian convent at Salamanca), Fray Martín de Coscojales, came forward on March 16, but his evidence was all hearsay and mainly concerned the impression made by the first meeting on Guevara and Aragon. On the following day an Augustinian

¹ Ibid., p. 105 ('si ouiese algo').

² Ibid., pp. 106-12.

³ Ibid., pp. 182-3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 184: 'Ayudo mucho el pe. maestro frai luis de leon defendiendo al sustentante. Avnque antes y despues a uisto que el dho mro frai luis de leon a enseñado y tenydo lo qro [= contrario].'

⁵ Two years later, in the preface to his *In Secundam Secundae Divi Thomae*, &c. (Salmanticae, 1584).

student of theology, Fray Andrés de Solana, bore witness in a tone favourable to Luis de Leon. On the same day, March 17, was heard the evidence of Fray Francisco Zumel. It was not only at the Augustinian Convent that the meeting had provoked discussion. Zumel, on returning to his convent, had taken counsel with other friars of the Mercenarian Order and had carefully examined what Luis de Leon's part had been in maintaining the disputed points. He now handed in to the Inquisition part of a lecture of Fray Luis on predestination, dating from 1571.¹ Each of the witnesses before the Inquisition came forward *sin ser llamado*. The whole question was typical of Luis de Leon's life and character. He had chivalrously defended a person unknown to him because he considered that he was being unfairly treated, and as a result had become involved in a quarrel with his best friends and in great annoyance and loss of time. A week later Zumel came to the Inquisition with a fresh accusation as to opinions upheld by Luis de Leon. Another Mercenarian, Fray Jerónimo Gomez, also deposed against Fray Luis, although in a somewhat wavering fashion.² Luis de Leon had now become exceedingly nervous and rained communications upon the Holy Office, noting various persons as hostile to him (that is, politically rather than personally hostile) and therefore unreliable as witnesses, among them Guevara, Aragon, and Rodriguez. The fact that these and other Augustinians were his enemies he explained by dissension in the Order concerning the election of a Provincial and by his own zeal for reform of the Order, and he added the names of Villavicencio (preacher to his Majesty), whose letter he justifiably regarded as a threat, Fray Pedro Suarez, Prior of San Felipe at Madrid, Fray Juan Gutierrez, Prior at Toledo, and Fray Diego de Valverde.³ In February he had in fact received a remarkable letter, dry as his native Xerez, from the celebrated Augustinian Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio.⁴ It was dated from Madrid on February 15, 1582, and

¹ *Segundo Proceso*, pp. 189-90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁴ This is the Augustinian of whom Prescott speaks as 'this remarkable man', 'that mischievous bigot'. He mentions his 'uncompromising temper', his 'fiery and fanatical eloquence', 'the ravings of this hard-hearted bigot', and says that 'the audacious Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio' showed as little

ran as follows: 'Very reverend Father, I was not obliged to do this and your Paternity is very seriously obliged to consider the warning I here give, for I believe it concerns you more than I can here say. Let the affairs of the Order alone, even though they be in worse plight than they are, occupy yourself with your Chair and cease to take upon yourself to remedy tyrannies. Call no one tyrant and know that many friars say publicly that you have done good to nobody and have annoyed many, and that you have received benefits from those you now attack, conduct which can come to no good nor be approved by anyone. And if you disregard my warning keep this letter, so that in due time I may remind you of it and you [or I?] may say that you bring your troubles upon yourself. And do not think that I say this on account of Father Xuarez only, but of many others who complain more than he does; and God shall be my witness of the intention with which I write this letter to you, whose very reverend person may He keep for His service.'¹ In answer to a note from the Supreme Court at Madrid, dated August 3, 1582, and received at Valladolid on the 7th, asking to see the papers concerning Luis de Leon, Fray Juan de Arresse wrote that it was the opinion of the Valladolid Inquisitors that Fray Luis should be summoned before them and examined, and, if no further charge resulted, should be dismissed with a severe reprimand, 'and inasmuch as the University of Salamanca has been greatly scandalized that he should so boldly denounce as heretical the contrary of his own opinion (which he himself admitted contained an element of temerity), and we have heard that members of his Order are boasting and rejoicing (*se xatan [sic] y alaban*) that the truth of what the said Fray Luis maintained has been proved, we are of opinion that he should in his Chair publicly declare the nature of certain opinions and confess that he was wrong in saying that the contrary of what he maintained was heresy.'²

ceremony in dealing with Philip as with his ministers (*History of the Reign of Philip II*, vol. ii (1855), pp. 38, 39, 114, 240). Possibly the acid tone of his letter to Luis de Leon was due to the fact that before the latter's arrest he had been rash enough to sign an approbation of his views on the Vulgate (*Doc. inéd.*, xi. 8 and 57; *Opera*, v. 338). Earlier he had been sent to Frankfurt to find out what Spaniards were engaged in the traffic of heretical books.

¹ *Segundo Proceso*, pp. 275-6.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 281-2.

§ v. 1582-5. *Luis de Leon publishes his first Spanish works. Goes to Toledo. Represents his University at Madrid. Returns to Salamanca at the end of July 1585.*

On March 17, 1582, Luis de Leon was appointed, with Diego de Vera, Antonio de Solis, Sahagun, Cosme de Medina, Francisco Sanchez de Aguilar and Salinas, to sit on a committee to consider a petition of El Brocense to be allowed to lecture with his own Latin grammar instead of that of Lebrija, which had reigned supreme for a century in the Schools.¹ Luis de Leon drew up a report favourable to El Brocense's claim. They appear to have been on closer terms of friendship after Fray Luis's release, and El Brocense was one of his witnesses at Valladolid in 1579. However much individual Augustinians might disagree with Luis de Leon on certain points, it is clear that the Order as a whole was proud of him and supported him enthusiastically; in the Chapter of this year at Dueñas (December 11, 1582) Guevara was elected Provincial and Luis de Leon was elected Definidor. This support would not have saved him from the cells of the Inquisition had not powerful influence been at work in his favour at Madrid. That he was not again arrested is almost certainly due to his friend Portocarrero. Eighteen months were suffered to elapse after the Inquisition at Madrid had written to Valladolid concerning Luis de Leon, and it was only on February 3, 1584, that he appeared before the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Quiroga,²

¹ Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *La Universidad de Salamanca y Fr. Luis de León*, in *Archivo Histórico*, Agosto de 1916, pp. 92-102; P. U. González de la Calle, *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (1923), pp. 110-111, 505-10; Esperabé, *op. cit.* i. 574.

² Gaspar de Quiroga was born at Madrigal de las Altas Torres. His family was poor, and he had nothing but a *real* a day as *colegial* of Oviedo during his student years at Salamanca. He became Professor of Law at Salamanca in 1545, and Bishop of the Canary Islands twenty years later. In 1570 he was with the Court at Córdoba when Luis de Leon went thither. When he was appointed Grand Inquisitor, in 1573, Agustín wrote (September 10) to the chronicler Zurita that long ago at Naples he had prophesied a brilliant career for Quiroga, 'but he would not believe me'. On the death of Carranza, three years later (May 2, 1576), King Philip wrote to his sister the Empress of Austria that he would appoint as Archbishop of Toledo 'an old man who will soon die', *algun viejo que no pueda vivir mucho*, so that when the Archduke Albert, her son, was old enough and had the necessary *letras* (*las tendrá pronto*) he might succeed him (Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, iv. 69-71). This is a pleasant commentary on Bishop Simancas's boast that 'everyone said that if I had been in Spain I would have been appointed' (*Autobiografías y Memorias*), 1905,

at Toledo. The Archbishop reprimanded him and kindly and benevolently warned him in future not to maintain propositions such as those of which he had been accused.¹ In the interval Luis de Leon had published the first edition of *La Perfecta Casada* and of the first part of *De los Nombres de Cristo*, but if he hoped for a literary finish to his life he was doomed to disappointment. The University of Salamanca shared the regard and confidence felt towards Fray Luis by his Order and on September 22, 1584, appointed him with the Rector, the Maestrescuela, and seven others, including Fray Domingo Bañez, one of a committee² concerning a matter which it had very much at heart: its suit with the Colegio del Arzobispo (with which the Colleges of Cuenca and Oviedo made common cause), which claimed the privilege of receiving degrees in the presence of a limited number of professors of the University (a very substantial economy).³ The suit had begun forty years ago; the College could count on constant protection at Court owing to the number of its old members of high rank who held important positions there, and the matter required urgent and skilful negotiations on the part of the University both at Madrid and at Rome. Two members of the Committee, Dr. Antonio de Solis and Luis de Leon, proceeded to Madrid, the latter, at the request of the

p. 175). From King Philip's point of view Simancas might have been the better choice, for sturdy old Quiroga only made up his mind to die of an apoplexy seventeen years later, on November 20, 1593. Cabrera describes him as 'áspero en reprehender y responder' (*op. cit.* ii. 353). Morosini speaks of him as 'uomo di bassa condizione . . . uomo poco intelligente delle cose di stato . . . uomo da bene e di vita esemplare, fa gran professione di giustizia, ma nelle azioni è austero, duro e di pochissime parole e al presente non è in molta considerazione' (*ibid.*, Apéndice, iv. 511). Simancas says that he was 'muy malquisto' and 'de condicion áspera y altiva', but Simancas is perhaps not an impartial witness. In dedicating his commentary on Ps. xxvi to Quiroga, Luis de Leon considers it a proof of his innocence that he should have been acquitted by so severe a judge (*Opera*, i. 113). The Archbishop's thoughts turned to Madrigal, and when the Augustinians were about to abandon their convent there he endowed it munificently and chose it as his last resting-place. His body now lies in the Convent of Augustinian nuns at Madrigal.

¹ *Segundo Proceso*, p. 282. In the academic year 1583-4 Luis de Leon was absent *de mandato universitatis* from July 14 to September 8, and on his own account from Monday, January 30 to April 25.

² Fray Gregorio de Santiago, *La Universidad de Salamanca y Fray Luis de León*, in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Enero y Febrero de 1920, p. 9. See also Fray L. G. A. Getino, *Vida y procesos*, pp. 305-36.

³ *Archivo Histórico*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

Rector and Maestrescuela, setting out on the 1st of December.¹ On January 5, 1585, Solis was back at Salamanca and the Committee warmly approved the sending of Luis de Leon as having proved most effective, and were of opinion that he should remain at Court and continue to draw his full salary as professor.² This was confirmed by the University at a meeting of January 24.³ At a subsequent meeting of the Committee (February 6) it was resolved to send to Luis de Leon (by Dr. Solis) a memorandum of the business which he was to transact with the King.⁴ The battle now raged fiercely at Madrid. Once more the friendship of Portocarrero, who had been a member of the Council since 1580, proved of great service to Luis de Leon and the University. The question had been referred to special judges, but now, when it was on the point of decision, two of these judges, favourable to the University (*estaban bonissimos*, says Fray Luis), were absent with the King. Luis de Leon hurried off (February 23, 1585) to the Palace to see the President of the Council, the Conde de Barajas, whom he suspected of being inclined to nominate two other judges less favourable to the cause of the University. Although in weak health, he went three times⁵ that day to the Palace, but was unable to see the President (the King was at Monzon).⁶ On the same day he wrote to the University urging them to send immediately one lawyer or two, and preferably Dr. Sahagun (member of the Committee), to deal with the legal aspects of the case (*lo que rresta es cosa de leyes*), and asking permission to return to Salamanca.⁷ The Committee immediately on receipt of this letter held a meeting (February 27) and determined that Solis should proceed on the following day to Madrid. But meanwhile Luis de Leon had seen the President of the Council on Sunday, February 24, had conversed with him

¹ Ibid., p. 10, and vol. ix (Marzo de 1918), p. 188.

² Ibid., Enero y Febrero de 1920, p. 9: 'ha sido de gran efecto para la prosecucion del negocio del colegio del arzobispo.'

³ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 13 and 15.

⁶ He had left the Escorial on January 19, 1585 for Zaragoza (February 24), Barcelona (May 7), and Monzon, and returned to Madrid at the beginning of March 1586, arriving at the Escorial on March 26.

⁷ Letter of Luis de Leon, dated February 15, 1585, read at the meeting of the Committee held on February 27 at Salamanca (ibid., pp. 12-24).

at leisure, and had come away convinced that he was favourable to the University. Of the two judges to be appointed, Gardiola and Tejada, the latter was an intimate friend of Fray Luis's brother. In Fray Luis's letter of February 26 he no longer begs to be recalled; he is to meet Portocarrero (*que es el que tiene todo este pleyto*) at the Escorial on Ash Wednesday, and to return with him to Madrid on the following Friday or Saturday.¹ He had also written to the King, to his Confessor, and to Rodrigo Vazquez, and had good hopes of now settling the affair once and for all. This letter was read to the Committee at a meeting of March 6. Solis, who had perhaps taken offence that Luis de Leon should have asked for Sahagun,² was ill and had not left Salamanca, and Dr. Sahagun was now sent, with instructions that he and Luis de Leon should, if necessary, proceed to Monzon to see the King.³ Fresh delays supervened, and on June 8 Luis de Leon wrote that he had little hope of a settlement until the King returned from Monzon, and suggesting that it was a needless expense that he should remain meanwhile at Madrid.⁴ He was accordingly recalled on June 15. He did not return until the last week of July, but he came with a *cédula* unfavourable to the College of the Archbishop and with a letter from Sahagun declaring that this satisfactory result was entirely due to Luis de Leon.⁵ He presented the official document at a meeting of the Committee and received its thanks for the skilful way in which he had conducted the case. The document, signed by the King at Monzon on July 15, 1585, and addressed to the 'Rector and members of the College of St. James of Zebedee, founded by D. Alonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo', was read at the meeting. It shows that the College had appealed to Rome and had even complained there of the '*abusos de Hespaña*'.⁶ Regalist Philip II resented this and it must have been realized that the victory of the University was assured. At a second meeting, on

¹ *Archivo Histórico, loc. cit.*, p. 16.

² Luis de Leon and Solis appear never to have been on cordial terms. As early as 1566 Fray Luis had objected to Solis as a judge in his suit against Medina.

³ *Archivo Histórico, loc. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18 ('no sirbe sino de gastar el arca').

⁵ 'cierto se deve a su paternidad este suceso' (*ibid.*, p. 20).

⁶ *Ibid.*

August 1, Luis de Leon was commissioned to have a special chest made to contain this and other documents concerning the suit. On August 26 he presented his accounts.

§ vi. 1586-8. *Luis de Leon at Burgos. Sent again to Madrid. In the spring of 1588, at Salamanca, he informs the Committee of the progress of the suit and immediately returns to Madrid, where he falls ill.*

At the end of April 1586 Luis de Leon attended the Augustinian Chapter at Burgos (April 26),¹ and a letter, or rather an Italian translation of his letter, to the Pope is extant,² protesting against certain measures adopted by the Order. In the spring of this year Solis and Bañez were sent to Madrid to greet the King on his return from Monzon. Solis was to remain at Court to attend to lawsuits concerning the University. Luis de Leon was busy lecturing at Salamanca (between October 18, 1585, and July 30, 1586, he delivered 146 lectures and only missed five lectures owing to illness and twenty owing to absence from April 13 to May 15). At a meeting of the Committee held on November 2, 1586, it was resolved to send Luis de Leon to Madrid to hasten on the suit with the College of the Archbishop, the reasons given being his intimate knowledge of the matter and his close friendship with Portocarrero.³ The Rector himself proceeded to the Convent of St. Augustine and personally informed Fray Luis of this decision. A fortnight later, on November 17, Luis de Leon once more set out on the four or five days' journey to Madrid.⁴ He did not let the grass grow under his feet, for on November 25 he wrote that he had seen the President of the Council, who read the letter presented to him by Fray Luis from the University and said: 'This cannot be considered, for His Majesty does not wish it'; but on Luis de Leon's protesting with *ἐπεα πτερόεντα* he answered *mas manso y rrisueño*: 'Sir, it is so, let the matter be gone into with the King,' and it was arranged that Fray Luis should see the King

¹ See Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Capítulo de la Provincia de Castilla en 1586*, in *Archivo Histórico*, Julio y Agosto de 1921, pp. 15-33.

² For the Italian text see *ibid.*, p. 23.

³ *Archivo Histórico*, Marzo y Abril de 1920, p. 134.

⁴ *Archivo Histórico*, Julio y Agosto de 1920, p. 24.

in the course of that week, after which the conversation turned to other matters. Fray Luis was resolved to speak plainly to the King.¹ He had an audience on the following Monday (December 1): 'I spoke on Monday with the King, and told him very clearly who was delaying the conclusion of the suit and handed him the memorandum. He listened to me attentively and answered that he would consider the matter and settle it.'² Both the King's Confessor and Rodrigo Vazquez were favourable (*están bonissimos*).³ These letters from Fray Luis were read out at a meeting of the Committee, at which Doctors Moya and Bernal showed hostility towards him and would have had him recalled. The University, however, found him extremely useful at Court. It, or rather those responsible for centralizing authority at Madrid, seemed unable to realize that the government of a vast empire and of a country busy equipping the Invincible Armada might have more important matters to attend to, or that Luis de Leon's own time and energy might be more profitably employed. One of his letters, written on February 14, 1587, shows that he had more than half a dozen difficult suits of the University on his hands, all of which he was conducting with great tenacity, 'although those of your Worships who have been here know how troublesome it is to conduct business, and the difficulty, not only of concluding a matter, but of speaking once with a Minister'.⁴ In reply he received not a word of thanks, but instructions to do his utmost in the business of the University until Palm Sunday, when he was to be back at Salamanca or forfeit his salary as professor.⁵ Previously he was to speak again to the King on the

¹ *Archivo Histórico*, Marzo y Abril de 1920, p. 136: 'entiende hablar en toda esta semana con su magestad bien claramente' (extract from letter of Luis de Leon). A 'recio contrario y poderoso' was the Conde de Cifuentes (*ibid.*, p. 134).

² *Ibid.*, p. 136: 'hablé el lunes al Rey y le dixe bien a la clara quien detenía la conclusion y le di memorial. Oyome bien y respondiome que lo vería y remediaría.'

³ *Archivo Histórico*, p. 136.
⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139. Cf. the remark of a contemporary foreigner, Camillo Borghese: 'in questa corte non si tien conto del tempo, che un negotio, benchè facile, vuole gl'anni in terminarlo' [1594].—A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle* (1878), p. 192. On October 19 of this year [1587] Luis de Leon made out a *poder* to Fray Diego de Chaves to recover a debt from Francisco de la Hoz, who had arrived from Peru, and on December 16 he similarly authorized Bernardino Frumentí to obtain 500 *reales* (Pérez Pastor, *Bibl. Madr.*, ii. 454).

⁵ *Archivo Histórico*, p. 139.

subject of the College of the Archbishop. The President of the Council had now become very affable to Fray Luis¹ and the suit was in excellent progress, although, in order to make matters doubly sure, Fray Luis resolved to apply for an audience of the King.² The question as to whether the students of Salamanca were to wear the cassock (*sotana*) was also progressing favourably, and in fact on May 2 a royal decree ordained that it should be worn by all the students of the University.³ In order to conclude the more important suit, Luis de Leon proposed that he should remain at Court during the month of April without special salary, and the University, which had burdened his days with so many commissions, agreed to this and generously included the month of May as well (he was to continue to receive his salary as professor). It became necessary to extend his leave still further; again without special salary, although all the 'muchos negocios'⁴ of the University fell upon his shoulders, an intolerable burden.⁵ Finally, on September 16, the University determined that he must without fail be at Salamanca for the opening of the academic year (October 18). No one could have been more zealous for the interests and good name of the University than was Fray Luis. He did not hesitate to keep back letters sent to him by the University for Cardinal Quiroga and the Supreme Court of the Inquisition concerning the Index, as unbefitting the dignity of the University, which, he considered, should give, not ask, advice concerning books, and the University subsequently approved his action.⁶ All this while the suit of the College of the Archbishop (or of the *Colegios Mayores*) had dragged on, from no fault of Luis de Leon. When the President of the

¹ Ibid., p. 140 ('con mucha irisa y significacion de voluntad').

² Ibid., pp. 140, 141, 261.

³ 'Espero lo de las sotanas,' says Luis de Leon, 'y he hablado sobre ello con algunos destos señores y tomanlo bien' (Letter of March 11, 1587).

⁴ In the Claustro of September 16, 1587, 'El Rector comenzó por decir que la Universidad tenia muchos negocios en Madrid, como eran el de Portugal, el de las ordenes, el de la lectura de los teatinos, el de la sisa y el del Berrocal, y especialmente el de los nuevos estatutos.' (*Archivo Histórico*, p. 143.) The question as to whether the Jesuits were to be allowed to lecture in the Schools was decided against them in 1592. See also *Archivo Histórico*, December 1916.

⁵ *Archivo Histórico*, Mayo y Junio de 1920, p. 261.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 261, 262.

Council seemed to his resolute eagerness to be dilatory and recalcitrant, Fray Luis would appeal or threaten to appeal personally to the King, and so momentarily spur the President into greater activity. On October 4 or 5 he had an audience of his Majesty, and the result was a royal rebuke for the President of the Council,¹ who, however, although he was subdued to the extent of apologizing to Fray Luis for past delays, still continued to delay (sentence in favour of the University had been given as early as April 17).² Only a threat from Fray Luis to have another interview with the King (it may be noted that Luis de Leon goes to the King with full confidence of obtaining justice) brought him to his senses. Portocarrero, too, was very busy, and it was only on the Wednesday before Christmas, after Luis de Leon had been with him all day without food till nightfall,³ that he drew up the necessary documents. The result was all that could be desired: a royal decree, dated January 12, 1588, enacting that degrees were only to be conferred in presence of the number of professors ordained by the Statutes of the University. The King had added a note with his own hand to the effect that the Corregidor should in person inform the *Colegios Mayores* of the decree. All this time, since September, the University had been bombarding Luis de Leon with orders to return to his Chair, 'and if I had obeyed your instructions the suit would never have been concluded'.⁴ He might justly plume himself on his success; he had proved himself an able and persistent diplomatist as well as a skilful lawyer, and it is of great interest to watch his direct and fearless methods in mortal combat with constant intrigues and delay, intelligence pitted against malice. For the present he remained at Madrid, on Portocarrero's advice, in order to parry any resistance on the part of the Colleges. The decree meanwhile was received at Salamanca with rejoicing. A general holiday was proclaimed in the Schools on January 30.⁵ A solemn mass was sung, at which the sermon was entrusted to a young Dominican

¹ *Archivo Histórico*, p. 262: 'Su magd. remitio mi memorial al presidente con alguna addicion no sabrosa para él.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264: 'y no ha sido el menor trabajo de todos rresistir a los pareçeres de vs. mds., &c.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, Marzo de 1918, pp. 191, 195.

of the Convent of San Esteban, Fray Alonso de Luna,¹ and special alms of twenty bushels of wheat were distributed. For his part Fray Luis merely received the thanks of the Committee and his arrears of salary as professor. The triumph of the University was short-lived. On March 2 Luis de Leon wrote that he had that day received the cruel news that the original decree was to be recalled. His first thought had been to rush off to interview the persons responsible, but it was the morning of Ash Wednesday, nobody was at home, and there was nothing to be done but wait in bitterness of spirit until after the midday meal.² His letter was read at a meeting of the Committee at Salamanca three days later (March 5), and it was resolved to send back the *cedula* after taking a copy of its contents. At a meeting held three months later (June 3) Luis de Leon in person informed the Committee of all the steps taken since November 1586, and it was determined that he should return to Madrid on the same business, in receipt of a special salary in addition to his professor's stipend.³ He returned immediately to Madrid, although heat never suited him, especially heat at the crowded Court, and he must have cast longing eyes at the cool shade of La Flecha as he rode past it on the dusty highroad. He in fact fell ill at Madrid. He had found a very chastened and subdued Court, where, under the shadow of the Invincible Armada, the usually merry St. John's Day wore all the gloom of Holy Week.⁴ On September 28,

¹ According to Antonio he was born at Villalpando, and in the year of his death, at the age of forty-five, published *Novae Observationes in Expositionem Fratris Bartholomaei de Medina ad Tertiam Partem Sancti Thomae* (Salmanticae, 1596).

² *Archivo Histórico*, p. 266 : 'yo he tenido oy uno de los peores ratos que he tenido en mi vida, por ocasion de que me dixo Garcia de malla que Ruy diez, que le avia encontrado en el camino, le dixo que el lleuaba prouision para que se enbiase aqui la cedula original y que no se usase della, y aunque me parecia ymposible temi no uviesen hecho algun engaño por descuydo del semanero, y ansy, como la mañana era ocupada con los oficios de la Zeniça y no estaba nadie en casa, ubela de pasar con harto desgusto, y en acabando de comer sali a ello y hable con algunos destos señores que se hazian marabillados de cosa semejante.' (Letter of Luis de Leon, March 2, 1588.)

³ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴ Fray José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ii. 474 : 'estuvo la gente seglar y la muy cortesana tan contrita y tan devota en el verano todo que se entendio partia el armada que en Madrid se frequentaban tanto las iglesias y los sacramentos en las fiestas de S. Iuan Bautista, san Pedro y S. Pablo que parecia más semana Santa que mañana de San Iuan,

in view of the approach of term, the University began to insist once more on his return. By a letter of October 16, however, he satisfied the Committee that the suit demanded his presence at Court, and it was decided that he should remain at Madrid and speak again to the King. Dr. Bernal alone was not convinced; he wished a lawyer to be sent, he possibly wished to go himself, while Dr. Sahagun, perhaps ironically, was of the opinion that Fray Luis should make haste to conclude the matter in the King's lifetime.¹ At the end of October Luis de Leon was laid up in bed and unable to go to the Escorial to meet Portocarrero.

§ vii. 1588-9. *Edits the works of Santa Teresa. Audits the accounts of the Provincial of Castille. Returns (August 1589) to Salamanca with the royal decree.*

At Salamanca Bernal continued to work for Luis de Leon's recall, and the University eventually decided that he must be back on February 7, 1589. But the fight as to the validity of the decree of January 12, 1588, was being stubbornly waged,² and Fray Luis again turned a deaf ear, the bedel of the University being officially instructed to begin fining him as from February 10. Never had Fray Luis had more work on his hands. The official edition of the works of Santa Teresa, which the Consejo Real had entrusted to Luis de Leon, appeared in this year.³ On April 13 the Nuncio commissioned him and the Abbot of Valladolid, Don Alonso de Mendoza, to audit the accounts of the Augustinian Provincial of Castille.⁴ This gave him an opportunity to satisfy his craving for justice. The honour of his Order was concerned. He did his best to have the Provincial (Antonio del Monte) severely punished (sentence was pronounced against him on

donde se suele desenfrenar tanto la gente en comidas y juegos y otras luxurias harto ajenas de buenos Christianos.'

¹ *Archivo Histórico*, Mayo y Junio de 1920, p. 269.

² *Archivo Histórico*, p. 269: 'Este negocio en esta ocasyon tiene necesidad de hombre muy sano.' Of his own health Luis de Leon says, 'traygo muy cascada la salud y ansi me halla esta en la cama de achaque de un riñon y con un poco de calentura' (October 31, 1588).

³ *Los Libros | de la Madre | Teresa de Iesus*. En Salamanca. Por Guillelmo Foquel, MDLXXXVIII. The *censura*, signed by Luis de Leon, is dated September 8, 1587.

⁴ For the text of this Brief see Mendez, *Vida*, in *Revista Agustiniiana*, i. 422-3.

December 21), and on August 18 he wrote to Loaysa, the King's Chaplain and Almoner, warning him against the Provincial, who intended to pay a visit to the Escorial with Fray Alonso de Orozco, under whose innocence, hints Fray Luis, he was taking shelter.¹ More important was the question of the reform of the Augustinian Order, which occupied Luis de Leon in 1588 and 1589, engaged the attention of Philip II, and was decided upon at the Chapter held at Toledo, at which the General of the Order, Gregorio Petrochini, presided (December 3, 1588),² and Luis de Leon was one of those who were instructed to draw up the new statutes.³ On March 7, 1589, the King's Chaplain, Loaysa, wrote a letter to the University of Salamanca asking in the King's name a further leave of absence for Fray Luis, until the end of August, in view of the fact that with the Provincial of Castille (the new Provincial, Pedro de Rojas, he was engaged in work in the interest of the Augustinian Order.⁴ The University does not appear to have regarded this letter as official, and it was not particularly interested in the affairs of the Order of St. Augustine. It refused the request point-blank as creating a bad precedent. Fray Luis, however, paid as little heed to this refusal as the University had paid to the King's request, and remained at Court. Fortunately he was able to appease the anger of the University in a very satisfactory fashion. In May the Committee was thoroughly frightened by the success attending the negotiations of the College of the Archbishop at Rome,

¹ Brit. Museum MSS. Add. 28,698 (Gayangos, iii. 325, no. 70), printed in García Blanco, *Fr. Luis de León* (1904), pp. 240-1: ('y lleva consigo al pe. Horozco que con su vejez y sencillez y con no tener noticia de las cosas de la orden ny de lo que en este negocio ay le an persuadido facilmente'). The quaintness of the saintly Orozco, who had free entry of the Palace, seems to have been a source of annoyance to Fray Luis, while the latter's fiery zeal may have appeared quite unevangelical to Orozco. D. María de Córdoba y Aragón, formerly lady-in-waiting to Queen Ana, founded the Colegio de la Encarnación at Madrid with Orozco's help in 1590 and suggested that it should be entrusted to the care of Luis de Leon, to which Orozco's answer was: 'En la provincia hay muchos que son para regir y morar aquel colegio . . . por tanto no hay que tratar con el P. Mtro. Leon' (Cámara, *Vida y Escritos del Beato Alonso de Orozco* (1882), p. 344).

² *Archivo Histórico*, Mayo y Junio de 1920, p. 272.

³ See *Diffinitiones editae a Reverendissimo Patre Magistro Gregorio Elparensi*, &c., Madrid, 1589.

⁴ *Archivo Histórico*, Julio y Agosto de 1920, p. 17.

and sent the Maestrescuela and Chancellor, Don Francisco Gasca Salazar, to Madrid to see the King, although he was not to supersede Luis de Leon.¹ In reality, success at Rome on the part of the College would help Fray Luis with Philip II more than the presence of the Chancellor, and three months later (August 22, 1589) he appeared triumphantly at Salamanca.² He found his convent partly in ruins, destroyed by a disastrous fire which had broken out on July 15 and, it is said, did not spare his own cell and library, an irremediable loss, since many of his manuscripts were still unpublished.³ On August 23, the day after his arrival, the University met to receive from his hands the long-desired royal decree. It was dated July 27, 1589, and confirmed the original decree of January 12, 1588. Fair words of thanks and congratulation rained upon Luis de Leon. Three days later, on August 26, at a meeting of the Committee, he requested that the special salary due to him should be paid, that he should not be deprived of the bonus attaching to his Chair, and that he should be granted two years' leave of absence without forfeiting the salary of his Chair.⁴ In view of the success which had now crowned Luis de Leon's constant endeavours, these requests were not excessive. The strenuous work of the last few years had left its mark on him. 'He is old and ill,' said Fray Pedro de Aragon⁵ in September 1589. It was indeed evident to all that his health was failing. On a cold night of January of the same year (1589) Fray Luis with Fray Jerónimo de Guevara and the Prior of San Felipe, Fray Pedro de Rojas,⁶ in the latter's cell before the fire, were discussing the reform of the Order. A young friar who had only professed in the preceding November, Fray Juan Quijano, was seated at the feet of one of them reading Santa Teresa's *Vida*, but listening eagerly to every word they said. Suddenly Fray Luis raised the young

¹ *Archivo Histórico*, Julio y Agosto de 1920, p. 21.; Getino, *Vida y procesos*, p. 328.

² *Archivo Histórico*, p. 25.

³ According to a MS. of 1621, printed in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, i. 866, many of his manuscripts were burnt: 'y cuando se quemó el cuarto de su convento se quemaron papeles suyos de inestimable precio y valor.'

⁴ *Archivo Histórico*, pp. 24-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25: 'por estar viejo y enfermo' (September 2, 1589).

⁶ Son of Don Sancho de Rojas, Marqués de Poza, and D. Francisca Enriquez.

friar's head with his hand, so that their eyes met, and said: 'Fray Juan, will you go with us to that monastery?'¹ And Fray Juan answered: 'Yes indeed, but your Paternity will not go.' 'And how do you know that?' said Fray Luis. 'No, no, I do not think you will go, nor that you are fitted for so rough a life. Leave that for Fray Jerónimo.'²

§ viii. 1589-91. *Defends the Carmelite nuns. Finishes 'Exposición de Job'. Is elected Provincial. Dies (August 23, 1591) at Madrigal.*

If Fray Luis now asked for two years' vacation, it was not in order to attend to his health in idleness. The Committee's reply was that if he obtained and presented an order from the King they would obey it.³ As to the accounts, they were dealt with in the ordinary way, that is meticulously and without undue haste. On October 5 Luis de Leon wrote from Madrigal suggesting the appointment of umpires to settle the matter in dispute.⁴ On December 23 he suggested that he should be paid the amounts which were not in dispute. For a large part of the time he had spent at Court his special salary had been 1,000 *maravedis* a day, and the whole sum now owing to his convent was not far short of two thousand ducats; the exact amount was 666,923 *maravedis*.⁵ But the sum was a very large one and its payment by the University had not been concluded at the time of Luis de Leon's death. He did not obtain leave of absence and was frequently fined according to the Statutes for failing to lecture during 1590, the fines being imposed despite the protests of the Augustinian Convent.⁶ The support of his Convent would have

¹ The first reformed convent of Augustinians (Recoletos, later Descalzos) was that of Talavera (October 1589). For some of the proposed reforms see *La Provincia de Castilla en 1588*, in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, vol. xii (1919), pp. 29-38, pp. 101-5.; special provision was made for cataloguing and buying books for the convent libraries (*ibid.*, p. 37).

² Mendez, *Vida*, in *Revista Agustiniiana*, i. 350. Guevara, at this time Prior of Burgos, died before Fray Luis. He belonged to the family of the Condes de Escalante; his grandfather, brother of the famous Bishop of Mondoñedo, was, like Luis de Leon's father, an *Odor*. (See Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo*, iii. 398-9.)

³ *Archivo Histórico*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶ As to the system of fining and the suit between Luis de Leon and the University from October 1590 till the time of his death, see Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Fr. Luis de León y los catedráticos de propiedad de Salamanca*, in *Archivo Histórico*, October 1917, pp. 257-67; November 1917, pp. 347-60; December 1917, pp. 412-24.

availed him little had he not obtained a royal licence authorizing him to be absent from his Chair (with full salary), a novelty against which the University protested at a meeting of August 2, 1590.¹ Luis de Leon himself does not appear to have attended any meeting of the University after February 28, 1590. While his University was thus practising the lore of nicely calculated less and more, Fray Luis himself, with an energy little short of miraculous in one old and ill, was engaged in a multitude of important matters. Leisure for literary work which might have enriched Spanish literature with masterpieces of Castilian prose receded ever further from his grasp. In 1587 had appeared the third edition of *La Perfecta Casada* and of *De los Nombres de Cristo*, and in 1590 he found time to publish a short Latin treatise addressed to his old friend, Canon Grial: *De utriusque agni typici*, &c. (Salmanticae, 1590). In January of this year he suffered the loss of another old friend by the death of the musician Salinas. Luis de Leon was himself ill at the time.² The last months of his life were of constant self-sacrifice. Their best motto would be the words written by him to Vazquez del Marmol on March 5, 1590, concerning Gracian: 'Mayormente no vuelve por sí sino por muchos otros y, lo que es más, por el bien de su Orden.'³

In the preface to his edition of the works of Santa Teresa Luis de Leon says with a clear tinge of regret that he had never met the saint in this life.⁴ He might have done so, since he returned to Salamanca in 1570 a month before Santa Teresa arrived there for the first time, on October 31, and took up her abode in the massive ghost-ridden house on the extreme outskirts of the city. He may have been ill when she returned in 1571, the year in which Ana de Jesus professed at Salamanca, and during her later visits he was in prison. He now found something of her spirit in this friend of hers, Prioress of the Carmelite Nuns

¹ Fray Domingo Bañez obtained a similar licence from the King. See Getino, *Vida y procesos*, p. 334. Cf. *Archivo Histórico*, Diciembre de 1917, pp. 423, 424.

² *Archivo Histórico*, Marzo de 1919, p. 196. [January 15, 1590.]

³ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁴ *Carta dedicatoria*: 'yo no conocí ni vi a la Madre Teresa de Jesus mientras estuvo en la tierra'; 'sin haberla visto en la vida' &c.

at Madrid, to whom his edition of Santa Teresa's works, the *censura* of which was dated September 7, 1587, was dedicated. His friendship and admiration for this saintly woman were increased when two years later he was brought into closer contact with her by his chivalrous championship of the Carmelite nuns, who, he considered, were being unfairly treated by the Carmelite Order. Age and illness were forgotten by Fray Luis when there was a question of injustice to be redressed, and often during the last year of his life (1590-1) his mule might be seen standing for hours at the door of the Carmelite Convent of Santa Ana,¹ waiting for him to ride back to San Felipe.² In his eyes the man who since 1585 had been Provincial of the Carmelite Order, Fray Nicolas de Jesus Maria Doria, a subtle Genoese, was a tyrant who, in his desire for uniformity and with the support of Philip II and the Pope, had attempted to abolish certain legitimate privileges of the Carmelite nuns, foremost among these being the cherished right to choose their confessors, the choice not to be limited to friars of the Carmelite Order. 'Es lastima lo que aquellas señoras padecen,' he wrote to Juan Vazquez del Marmol,³ and he considered the conduct of their supporter, Fray Jeronimo Gracian, lamentably weak. There is a very remarkable letter in which Fray Luis strongly condemns Gracian's flight to Lisbon (with a view to embark as missionary to America) and is of opinion that he must return and face his enemies.⁴

¹ *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Agosto de 1919, p. 73: 'pocos dias faltan que no esté en el dicho monesterio quatro i cinco oras . . . teniendo su mula a la puerta' [1591]. The Convent of San Felipe el Real (enlarged by Philip II) was in the Calle Mayor and that of the Carmelites probably stood at the cross of the Calles de Gorguera and Pardo (Prado). He would thus come down by the Calle Mayor, Puerta del Sol, Calle de Carretas, Plazuela del Angel (now Plaza del Angel), and Calle del Prado. Near the Plaza del Angel is the Plaza de Santa Ana, separated by tall plane-trees from the Calle de Leon, where Cervantes lived.

² Madrid in 1594 is described as 'assai grande, piena di popoli' [estimated at 50,000 householders]. 'Ha le strade larghe, le quali sariano belle se non fosse il fango et la sporcità che hanno (non è possibile andarvi a piede)'. The houses 'sono cattive et brutte et fatte quasi tutte di terra'. (*Diario di Camillo Borghese*, ap. A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle* (Heilbronn, 1878), p. 177.)

³ The nine letters from Luis de Leon to Vázquez del Marmol [January 15-July 18, 1590] are printed in the *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, March and April 1919; in the *Epistolario Español*, vol. ii (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. lxii); and in Luis de Leon's Spanish works.

⁴ Letter to Vázquez del Marmol from Salamanca, March 5, 1590 (*Archivo*

Ana de Jesus was also supported by Santa Teresa's friend, the Dominican Fray Domingo Bañez, and by the great Carmelite poet San Juan de la Cruz. Meanwhile the Carmelite nuns, who had consulted Luis de Leon and secured the support of Philip II's sister, D. Maria, Empress of Austria (widow of Maximilian), had in 1589 sent Dr. Bernabé de Marmol Zapata as their agent to Rome in order to secure the confirmation of the statutes of Santa Teresa. He was successful in his mission and secured a Brief dated June 5, 1590. By a second Brief,¹ of June 27, the Archbishop of Evora, D. Teutonio de Braganza, and Fray Luis de Leon were commissioned to execute the Brief favourable to the Carmelite nuns. The whole of the work fell upon Fray Luis, who stood alone in a fierce contest with Doria and Philip II. The matter was complicated by the rapid succession of Popes in the second half of 1590, while Philip II, who had war with France on his hands and the troublesome affair of Antonio Perez, might have been excused had he shown signs of impatience.² On August 17, 1590, he wrote to his Ambassador at Rome, the Conde de Olivares, to secure the withdrawal of the Brief.³ The papal brief was notified to the executors on August 23⁴ at Madrid, four days before the death of Sixtus V. Fray Luis had spent the first half of the year at Salamanca (with a few days' absence in April, and again, at Madrigal, in July).⁵ He did not return for the

Histórico, Marzo de 1919, pp. 197-201). Cf the passages 'y es facil dar colores de religion a lo que en verdad no lo es, y más en este caso adonde la remision de ánimo se parece tanto a lo que es modestia y lo que es pusilánime a lo que es humilde'; 'Menos mal es un poco de inquietud que la culpa de no responder a su obligacion y al bien de su Orden. ¿Qué obra de vida activa se haría si a eso se mirase?' Cf. his letter of March 23: 'es el demonio que le pone deseo de las Indias.'

¹ For its text see *Archivo Histórico*, November 1917, pp. 348-9.

² Tradition assigns to him the phrase '¿Quién le mete a Fray Luis en estas cosas?' (Santa María, *Crónica Carmelitana*, followed by La Fuente and Arango). Cf. González de Tejada, *Vida*, p. 68; *Archivo Histórico*, vol. x (1918), pp. 91, 95. Cf. also '¿Quién mete a Bañez en lo que no le pertenece?' (*Archivo Histórico*, Julio de 1917, p. 25).

³ This letter is printed in *Archivo Histórico*, Abril de 1919, p. 241.

⁴ *Archivo Histórico*, November 1917, p. 347; *ibid.*, Enero de 1918, p. 36; *ibid.*, February 1918, p. 103: 'en el monesterio de San Geronimo extramuros desta villa' (where the Archbishop of Evora was staying).

⁵ His letters to Vázquez del Marmol are dated from Salamanca, the last on July 18. From September 1 letters were addressed to Luis de Leon at San Felipe, Madrid. His life at Salamanca, needless to say, had not been spent in inactivity. 'Ando ocupadísimo,' he says on February 17. 'He andado

beginning of term and at a meeting on October 26 the University refused him leave of absence. But Fray Luis, assisted by the Augustinian Fray Bartolomé Bermudez, was in the thick of the fray and continued at Madrid. Doria, instead of convoking a Chapter of the Order to receive the papal brief, appealed to the King and through his intervention obtained from the Nuncio a provisional order to suspend it. Luis de Leon, however, after the King had forbidden the first Carmelite Chapter, convoked by Fray Luis on October 2 for November 25, proceeded to an act of sheer rebellion and again summoned the Chapter to assemble on February 2, 1591.¹ In a long report² drawn up for the King on January 26 the opinion was expressed that the Carmelite nuns had exceeded their rights ('excedieron mucho') in sending to Rome for the Brief,³ and that Luis de Leon should be ordered to leave the Court and take no further steps in the matter.⁴ Philip II's regalism was up in arms. As the Carmelites summoned by Luis de Leon were about to enter the Chapter Room they were confronted by an officer of the King's household with orders to postpone execution of the Brief until further instructions could be received from the Pope. Fray Luis is said to have exclaimed: 'It is impossible to carry out a single order of his Holiness in Spain'.⁵ He shook the dust of the Court from off his feet and returned to Salamanca.⁶

con falta de salud estos dias' (January 15); 'ocupaciones y poca salud' (June 16).

¹ Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Fr. Luis de León y los Catedráticos de propiedad de la Universidad de Salamanca*, in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, Julio de 1917, pp. 16, 18.

² It is printed in Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, vol. iii (1907), pp. 405-9, and by Fray Gregorio de Santiago in the *Archivo Histórico*, September 1917, pp. 182-94.

³ *Archivo Histórico*, September 1916, p. 190.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 192: 'Que a Frai Luis de León se le ordene que se vaya de aqui a entender en su officio de Provincial y no cure de tratar más deste negocio.' (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, iii. 408.) On January 10 Luis de Leon had been ordered to present the reason why he 'considered the Brief so just'.

⁵ The sole authority for this is Francisco de Santa María, and the fact that he goes on to make the absurd statement that the King's anger killed Fray Luis (as though he were a favourite suddenly overthrown and not the most independent and outspoken man in Spain) does not increase the reader's confidence. It seems more probable that the second Chapter, like the first, never even made an attempt to meet.

⁶ According to what strikes one as a stupid and brutal report presented by the representatives of the proprietary professors on April 18, 1591, he returned *en tiempo muy áspero* in order to receive fees from degrees. He was

He can from the first have had no illusions as to his success. None better than he knew how papal briefs and bulls were treated in Spain. But while the Archbishop of Evora stood aside on the plea of health¹, he remained firm and had done all and more than all that could be expected in support of Santa Teresa's nuns.² During these months, in moments snatched from illness³ and from his multifarious activities, he was at work on the last chapters of that wonderful commentary of the Book of Job which is one of the priceless possessions of the Spanish language. Chapters 36-40 were written at Madrid on October 27, November 29, December 14, 1590, and January 6 and February 1, 1591; chapter 41 at Salamanca on February 19.⁴ He

present at the conferring of degrees on February 18 (see *Archivo Histórico*, December 1917, pp. 414-18). These representatives, Fray Francisco Zumel and Dr. Juan de Leon, spoke from afar when they suggested (ib. p. 416 and 421) that 'la ocupacion de este breve es muy poca' and that Luis de Leon might have seen to its execution without leaving Salamanca! Fray Luis knew better. He had had several interviews with the King and with his Ministers and had also seen the King's Confessor and the Archbishop of Toledo, and had written to Pope Gregory XIV 'dando quenta como se ympedia la execucion' (*Archivo Histórico*, Enero de 1918, pp. 37, 39, 40). It was, however, Gregory XIV who revoked the Brief in April 1591.

¹ In a long letter written at the end of August 1590, perhaps to Juan Vázquez de Salazar, he had, however, expressed the opinion that King Philip should order the Carmelite friars to show a proper subjection to the Holy See. This letter, signed 'T. Ylro. de Hevora', is printed in the *Archivo Histórico*, September 1917, pp. 195-8.

² Grateful letters came pouring in from the convents of Valencia, Toledo, Valladolid, Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Alba, Lisbon, Huete, Vitoria, Córdoba, Zaragoza, Soria, Burgos, &c. They are printed in the *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, 1919, pp. 242 et seq. While many nuns thus wrote to thank Fray Luis for his protection, others, partly because they were intimidated by the Carmelite friars, wrote in support of the Vicar-General. In a letter to him Jerónima del Spiritu Santo (Malagon) says (1590), 'creo son pocas las que tratan de libertades'; and to Guiomar del Sacramento the same nun writes (September 8, 1590) that 'el Rey está espantado aya entre descalças semejantes atrebimientos y libertades' (*Archivo Histórico*, Mayo y Junio de 1922 [continuing the article from August 1919], pp. 269, 274). Another Carmelite nun, Ana de la Trinidad (Salamanca), exhorts him to forestall Luis de Leon, with whose activity she may have been acquainted (ib. Julio y Agosto de 1922, p. 48. Cf. p. 49).

³ On January 11, 1591, the King's surgeon, Dr. Estrada, declared that Luis de Leon was suffering from an abscess, 'una lupia o escrescencia carnosa encima de la cadera cerca de la region riñon derecho, la qual es grande y de mala calidad y por la parte que confina y haçia el espinaço dolorosa' (*Archivo Histórico*, November 1917, p. 359); a week earlier (January 4) he had been 'muy acatarrado' (ibid.).

⁴ See also *Archivo Histórico*, Julio de 1917, p. 19; ib. vol. xiii (1919), p. 133; and González de Tejada, *Vida*, pp. 49-50

returned to be confronted by a series of petty annoyances as to his salary during his absence. Despite his exemption by papal brief, the University began to fine him daily for not lecturing from November 3, 1590.¹ He did not resume his lectures, which had now become to him, overworked and ill as he must have felt, an intolerable burden. In the previous academic year he was lecturing sorely against the grain and had even told the students that he would rather be a water-seller in Salamanca's streets than have to lecture to them.² From October 1590 to July 16, 1591, he gave not a single lecture, but on July 16 and the following days, a month before his death, galvanized no doubt by the malevolent attacks of the proprietary professors, he dragged himself to the Schools and delivered a few last lectures.³ No sentence was given in the suit between him and the professors, but with posterity sentence goes in favour of Luis de Leon, and the University cannot escape a charge of ingratitude in allowing free play to the odious malice of professors who envied his reputation and success. Meanwhile the Augustinian Order showed its appreciation for its greatest living son. It is inferred from the fact that Philip II's councillors, on January 26, 1591, suggested that Luis de Leon should be ordered to go away and attend to his business as Provincial that he had assumed Rojas' duties as soon as the King had proposed the latter's name for the See of Astorga on January 12.⁴ A few months later a Chapter of the Augustinian Order was held at Madrigal. Luis de Leon, old and ill, made his way thither for the last time across the burning plain, and on August 14 he was elected Provincial of Castille. Nine days later (August 23, 1591)⁵ Fray Luis was dead, worn out by the ceaseless toil and anxiety of the last months, which had aggravated his old complaint of an abscess. It was only by a supreme effort of his strong will that he had gone to Madrigal.

¹ *Archivo Histórico*, Marzo de 1918, p. 190.

² See *Archivo Histórico*, vol. ix (1918), pp. 425, 429 ('lee de muy mala gana . . . leya con pesadumbre y aun dixo segun todos dizen que más queria ser açacan que no leer a los estudiantes'.)

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 263, 420, 425, 427.

⁴ On this point and as to his appointment as Vicar-General see *Archivo Histórico*, September 1917, p. 192 n.

⁵ *Archivo Histórico*, Enero de 1919, p. 18; Mendez, *Vida*, in *Revista Agustiniiana*, i. 347.

The last sound in his ears as he lay dying in one of those cells, to the ruins of which one now looks up through mouldering rafters, must have been that of the subtle wind, the *solano*¹, blowing in a cloudless sky and hissing against the walls of the great convent. He knew that he had fought a good fight, yet how little it may have seemed to him had been accomplished of his dreams and aspirations as the years had sped relentlessly on!² And now the silver cord was loosed and the golden bowl was broken, and many a mighty poem would go down with him unexpressed into the grave. All through the long August day, while the threshers beat out the corn and myriads of swallows whirled and swerved overhead, and the dry air was made dryer by innumerable tiny particles of golden straw, the memories must have surged back on his dying brain. He saw the knightly figure of his grandfather riding out to his vines at Belmonte, his mother busy at her household tasks or as she sat among her handwomen spinning, the scenes of his first journey as a child from Belmonte to Madrid, the gallants of the Court pacing up and down the Corredera at Valladolid, the gloomy narrow chapel of Santa Barbara and the keen gaze of the examiners seated rigidly along its walls, the lecture-room filled to overflowing with eager faces, the vehement zeal of Cano, whose lectures in their fiery eloquence contrasted strangely with the gentle timidity of Grajal; Soto and Bañez and the versatile Brocense, ever ready to shock the conventional with a paradox, old Leon de Castro shaking his head rapidly in anger (*meneando muy apriesa la cabeza*),³ Salinas at the organ, the strained attentive look of Celedon Gustin⁴

¹ His old adversary Frei Heitor Pinto called it 'the broom of the sky', Pedro Mexia describes it as 'saludable, sutil, puro y colérico'. For Fray Luis it was the wind that heats the air, 'violento y furioso, acre y dañoso', whereas the *cierzo* 'hace los dias serenos y amables'.

² Cf. *Opera*, iii. 410 ('volat enim aetas, nihilque ea aut brevius est aut esse potest fugacius'); i. 79 ('volat enim dies'); i. 195 ('citissime transit'); i. 488 ('summa velocitate transit atque volat, nunquam postea reversura'); iii. 285 ('angustis spatiis'); i. 423 ('motu perpetuo'); *Exposicion de Job*, iii. 7 ('se pasa prestissimo'); ib. iv. 19 'en camino apresurado a la muerte'. 'Todo es afanar y morir,' he says sadly elsewhere.

³ *Doc. inéd.*, x. 420. It was positively a breach of good manners: 'Hablando con otro jamas hables de dedo ni meneando la cabeza.' (Gutierrez González, *Libro de Doctrina Christiana*, ap. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol. iii, col. 84.)

⁴ He always signed Gustin, but in the trial is referred to as Agustin and Augustin. The same form occurs at Salamanca in 1588: Domingo Gustin.

writing at his desk, the white sad face of King Philip, the wizened features of Orozco, the charm and grace of Ana de Jesus. The palaces and glitter of crowded cities¹ passed before him, and the patched reds and browns and purples of the austere and luminous uplands of Castille with the fragile blue mountain-ranges beyond; snowy-white *cortijos* of Andalucía glowing among the olives, groups of peasants' faces lit into Rembrandt hues round an inn-fire, long stretches of dusty road along which went slow rumbling carts and the jingling teams of the muleteers; the Tagus swirling below the steep Moorish streets of Toledo, the Duero as it winds through the heroic Soria country, marvellous dawns and swift sunsets, the peace and rapture of La Flecha by the smooth flow of azured Tormes, the white columns of Alcalá's Patio Trilingüe, Salamanca the golden city, Córdoba in early spring and the soft snows of the Sierra Nevada; pictures of Titian and El Greco, and the irregular rows of codex and folio on his library shelves. An endless procession of scenes and faces must surely have presented itself to one who had dealt so often in concrete images; and then perhaps he saw heaven open and in a radiant vision appear

las moradas
Del gozo y del contento,
De oro y luz labradas,
De espíritus dichosos habitadas.

Yes, his dying eyes must have sought that wonderful Castilian sky that he knew and loved so well, softly and luminously blue or magnificent with stars, behind which lay

Repuestos valles de mil bienes llenos.

For him death was no ending, but promotion to a mightier sphere of fresh activity,² a privilege given to a few fervent spirits who had suffered and striven during their brief earthly sojourn. His young cousin Basilio Ponce de Leon, who was about to

¹ *Opera*, ii. 346.

² Of death he had said that 'sensibus nihil est morte horribilius, nihil vita amabilius', and in the same passage 'in morte vero quiescimus' (*Opera*, i. 427); but he had also said (*Opera*, i. 132): 'Mors enim in hominibus iustis per sophisma quodammodo dicitur. Etenim vivunt tunc maxime cum primum ab his terrenis et mortalibus excesserunt locis.'

profess in the Order of which he was to be one of the most brilliant ornaments¹, had accompanied Luis de Leon to Madrigal,² and another young Augustinian, Fray Juan Quijano, relates that he was already ill in bed when elected Provincial on August 14.³ His body was brought to Salamanca, where it was received with the solemn honours due to a professor of the University, and buried in the Church of the Augustinian Convent, in the 'Saints' Corner' ('Angulo de los Santos'), before the altar of Santa María del Populo. Luis de Leon had not had the leisure for which he sighed,⁴ freedom from 'todo lo que mete a saco la quietud de la vida'; but his genius was acknowledged and he was held personally in the highest honour, and not in his Order only. Madre Ana de Jesus had spoken of his fervour and saintliness.⁵ The Duke of Sessa had asked him to write a book 'que

¹ Juan Maldonado said of him: 'Nullum tulit haec aetas meo iudicio (Legionensem excipio) cum isto comparandum' (Antonio, *Bib. Nov.*, i. 729).

² Basilio Ponce de Leon, *Primera Parte de Discursos para todos los evangelios de la Quaresma* (Salamanca, 1608), p. 243: 'Suele quando llueue conuertirse en sapos, como yo lo vi estando en Madrigal al tiempo que se celebraua el Capitulo de mi Orden, en que murió el gran Maestro Fray Luis de Leon, bastante para honrar vn mundo quanto mas vna Religion y vn siglo.'

³ See Mendez, *Vida*, in *Revista Agustimana*, i. 351: 'aunque estaba en la cama del mal que murió fué elegido Provincial vispera de Nuestra Señora de Agosto y murió vispera de San Bartolomé, porque me acuerdo que estando en maitines de media noche día del glorioso Apostol llamaron a la puerta de la Iglesia llevando el cuerpo del dicho P. Maestro y Provincial, donde se enterró con toda la autoridad de la Universidad y conventos, que era razon a tan gran hombre. No hizo accion de Provincial si bien se temía que si viviera había de haber hartas novedades, pero todas en razon de observancia dela Provincia, porque lo deseaba mucho.' Whatever fears as to rigorous action on his part as Provincial may have been raised were probably groundless. Luis de Leon was no oppressor, his asperity was directed against the powerful, and, although his zeal for reform was undiminished, it is extremely unlikely that he would have displayed any harshness as Provincial. It is very doubtful whether he would have received a bishopric, and the tradition that he was offered an overseas archbishopric is probably false. Tirso de Molina remarks that few eminent professors were given bishoprics 'por no desamparar a Salamanca' (*Revista de Archivos* (1919), p. 574), and Luis de Leon would not be *jubilado* till 1599. His alleged Jewish descent was, moreover, an obstacle; a greater obstacle than to be closely related, as was Fray Pedro de Rojas, Bishop of Astorga, to a condemned and executed heretic.

⁴ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 217: 'Lo que yo deseaba era el fin destos pleitos y pretendencias de escuelas, con algun mediano y reposado asiento. Y si al Señor le agradare servirse en esto de mí su piedad lo dará.'

⁵ Fray Angel Manrique, *La Venerable Madre Ana de Iesus (Vida de la Venerable Madre Ana de Iesus)*, Brvselas, 1632, pp. 376 + 208 (with a second title-page), lib. III, cap. 3, p. 328: 'Assi lo hallo en vna carta de la Madre escrita a otra Religiosa de su Orden: "Pidole (dice) a V. R. por el grande

tratare de las obligaciones de los estados';¹ King Philip's sister, the Empress of Austria,² widow of Maximilian II, requested him to write the life of Santa Teresa³; and the Archduke Albert was especially friendly.⁴ This wide recognition, and even more perhaps the gratitude of the Carmelite nuns, must have acted as balm upon a spirit which could never rest in placid self-satisfaction. One notices that the bitter emblem of axe and tree disappears from the title-page of his last book, published in the year before he died. In the Augustinian Order men such as

amor que nos tenemos me ayude siempre con sus oraciones y las ofrezca muchas vezes por el Padre Maestro Fray Luis de Leon, que se lo debemos todas; yo mas que persona à [sic] otra en la tierra. Presto yra a essa: tratele V. R., que es muy santo y para quanto nosotras hemos menester. Tiene mucho caudal de Dios, con gran desseo de servir a Su Magestad en hacernos bien. Harto nos ha hecho aqui en cosas de que gozará toda la Orden, que ha avido occassion, con la venida de este Breve, de muchas cosas tocantes a nuestro gobierno." Esta carta se escribió recién venido el Breve, antes que se vuisse tomado assiento en nada.'

¹ We know this from a letter written by the Duke of Feria from Medina on June 11, 1604, to Fray Juan Marquez and printed as preface to the latter's *El Governador Christiano* (Salamanca, 1612; 2nd ed., Lisboa, 1614).

² She took an active interest in the Carmelite nuns. The Infanta Margarita of Austria professed as a Carmelite at Madrid in 1587.

³ Cf. Fray Angel Manrique, *op. cit.*, p. 282: 'hallandose entonces en Madrid el Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de Leon Cattedratico de Escripura de la Universidad de Salamanca y vno de los mayores sujetos que le ha dado la orden de Sant Augustin con auerle dado muchos y muy grandes, le cometiò [Ana de Jesus] el examen de Consejo. Mas docto claro está que no pudiera hallarse, pero ni mas devoto de la Santa, y lo era mucho tambien de Ana de Jesus en lo poco que allí la auia tratado. Ella y por ella su Magestad la Emperatriz le recomendaron el libro . . . como a hombre de tan grande autoridad.' Bishop Yepes says that the Empress asked Fray Luis to write the life of the saint, of which we have only a fragment.

⁴ In dedicating his *In Canticum Canticorum* to the Archduke, Luis de Leon says: 'Eoque magis adductus sum id ut facere auderem quod memineram superiore anno, cum obsequium tibi meum atque adeo meipsum totum offerrem, quali me et vultus hilaritate et verborum comitate exceperis; quodque ex Alfonso Coloma cubiculario tuo postea cognoveram memoriam mei non abiecisse te sed e tuo isto fastigio ad meam humilitatem nonnunquam despicere et in tuis sermonibus mentionem mei solitum esse interdum facere.' (*Opera*, ii. 9). The Archduke's special favour may have been due to the fact that Luis de Leon's old friend, Sebastian Perez, had been his tutor, or to the presence of Diego de Olarte as Controller of his Household. (Cf. the *cedula* of April 2, 1577, concerning a gold crucifix belonging to the late Prince Carlos and to be given to the Convent of Nuestra Señora at Madrid, addressed to 'Diego de Olarte, contino de mi casa y contralor de la de los Serenísimos Principes de Hungria, Alberto y Vincislao, mis muy caros sobrinos' (*Doc. inéd.*, xxviii, 567-68). The Archduke Albert (1559-1621), nephew of Philip II, became Cardinal (1577), Archbishop of Toledo (1593), Governor of Portugal (1582), and Governor of Flanders (1595). In 1598 he married Philip's daughter Isabel.

Pedro de Aragon, Molina, Basilio Ponce de Leon, and, most important of all, the celebrated Francisco Suarez (1548-1616), acknowledged him as their master; ¹ Muñoz, like Basilio Ponce de Leon, described him as 'a man of one century'; ² Bishop Yepes, Santa Teresa's biographer, called him the light and glory of Spain.³ Fray Pedro de Aragon was not the only writer who gave glowing praise to Luis de Leon in his lifetime (1584), for six years before his death appeared the *Primera Parte de la Galatea* (Alcalá, 1585) in which, in the *Canto de Caliope* of Book vi, Cervantes wrote:

Quisiera rematar mi dulce canto
 En tal sazón, pastores, con loaros
 Un ingenio que al mundo pone espanto
 Y que pudiera en estasis robaros.
 En él cifro y recojo todo quanto
 He mostrado hasta aquí y he de mostraros:
 Fray Luys de Leon [es] el que digo
 A quien yo reuerencio, adoro, y sigo.⁴

Cervantes felt his debt to Luis de Leon to be very great; it was he who had given the battered soldier a new incentive to write, and indeed the influence of *De los Nombres de Cristo* is evident in the Platonic atmosphere of *La Galatea* (finished probably in the year which saw the publication of *De los Nombres*). In a preface to his earliest play, *El verdadero amante*,

¹ See Blanco García, *Fr. Luis de León* (1904), p. 256. For the praise of Luis de Leon by Aragon see *Opera*, vol. v, p. 6, and *Fratri Petri de Aragon | Ordinis Eremitarum | . . . In Secundam Secundae*, &c. (Salmanticae, 1584), *Lectori*: 'Sudores operasque praestantissimorum virorum Fratri Ioannis de Guevara and Fratri Luysij Legionensis siue de Leon (quos cum Hispaniarum Magistros mirantur omnes & ego tanquam discipulus & amo & veneror) in aliorum vsus cedere atque alijs gloriam potius quam sibi parere molestissimo animo ferebam olim . . . Puto autem rem gratissimam studentibus Theologiae facturum me & non ingrati Magistris meis Guevarae & Legionensi dum eorum aurea scripta praelo mando. Mille enim scholasticorum vocibus vbique est urgentissime efflagitatum vt Patrum istorum lucubrationes nedum Hispanie sed Europae ferme toti habitas [sic] pro miraculo communes fierent. Namque doctrina eorum tanta eminet dignitate & excellentia vt putauerim semper si sacra Theologia periret omnino in horum Patrum cerebro reseruata noua inde natiuitate edendam esse.'

² Luis Muñoz, *Vida | y virtudes | del Venerable Varon | el P. M. Fr. Luis de Granada* (Madrid, 1639), f. 163: 'varon de un siglo'. So Cornelius Curtius says that Luis de Leon was regarded as 'saeculi sui phoenicem.'

³ Diego de Yepes, *Vida . . . de Teresa de Jesus*, lib. iii, cap. 19: 'Catedrático de Salamanca y en el tiempo que vivió luz y gloria de España.'

⁴ ff. 334 v-335.

Lope de Vega, who speaks of 'el celestial ingenio' of Luis de Leon¹, tells a story which somehow brings Fray Luis vividly before us; he relates that 'in one of those famous Seville book-shops' Luis de Leon asked for a Hebrew Bible and began reading in it aloud; whereupon a nephew who was with him, *ingenio singular* of the same Order, asked the bookseller for another Hebrew book and was given the Psalms of David, in marvellous characters beautifully printed by Plantin, and, as he did not yet know Hebrew, began reading out nonsense. Fray Luis turned in annoyance to chide him, but he said: 'But, Father, this is for the bookseller just as much Hebrew as yours'.² In his *Laurel de Apolo* (1630) Lope de Vega has twenty-four lines in honour of Luis de Leon:

Augustino Leon, fray Luis divino.

He praises both his poetry and prose and his translations and calls him 'the honour of the Castilian language'.³ In the following year Quevedo published his lyrics. To many Luis de Leon was known by his early reputation as translator and commentator of the *Song of Songs*, a reputation which spread to Portugal, where Foreiro⁴ praised the Spanish version, and to France, where Jacques Auguste de Thou, and later Bossuet, admired the *In Canticum Canticorum*.⁵ To others, as to Cabrera

¹ *Comedias Escogidas* (Bib. Aut. Esp.), tom. i, p. 1.

² *Comedias Escogidas*, tom. i, p. 2. [It is extremely improbable that Luis de Leon was ever at Seville after 1570, the year of Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon's birth.] 'Un catedrático de griego, natural de Guipúzcoa, hallándose en su escuela de Alcalá saltado de improviso de muchos señores de la corte, oró en vizcaino delante dellos y fué tenido por hombre insigne hasta que un secretario de un príncipe que era de la misma patria deshizo el atrevido engaño, diciendo que le había entendido. En una de aquellas famosas librerías de Sevilla pidió el padre fray Luis de Leon una Biblia, si acaso la tenían, hebrea. Dióselo el dueño, admirado de que la pidiese y mucho más de vérsela leer en alta voz; pero llevando consigo un sobrino suyo, ingenio singular y del mismo hábito, pidió otro cualquiera libro si acaso le tenían en la lengua hebrea; dióle el librero los salmos de David, de maravillosos caracteres y impresion del excelente Plantino; y comenzando a leer disparates, porque ignoraba la lengua entonces, volvió fray Luis a reprehenderle airado; a quien el sobrino dijo: 'Déjeme vuesa paternidad, que para el señor librero tan hebreo es esto como esotro.'

³ *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, t. xxxviii, p. 200.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, x, 99. This eminent Portuguese scholar and divine died at Almada in 1580. Of the Spanish version Gudiel possessed a copy which he had made, cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x, 365.

⁵ *Illustris Viri Iacobi Augusti Thvani . . . Historia Sui Temporis* (1626-30

in his *Historia de Felipe Segundo*¹ (1619), he was a champion of the Spanish language; to Pacheco he was that and a universal genius besides.² To a few intimate friends he was above all things a marvellous poet.

ed., vol. v, p. 102 (lib. xcix): 'Arctissimam longe cum Ludovico Legionensi, Augustino eremita, divinorum librorum in Academia Salmanticensi interprete, cuius elegantissima in Canticum Canticorum explanatio exstat, ob studiorum et consiliorum consensionem coluit [Salinas] amicitiam'. Bossuet's praise is quoted by F. H. Reusch, *Luis de Leon und die Spanische Inquisition* (1873), p. 71, and Blanco García, *Fr. Luis de León* (1904), p. 260: 'Aloysius Legionensis Canticum Canticorum explanavit pari pietatis, doctrinae et elegantiae laude.' Cf. Michael Ghislieri: 'Aloysium Legionensem, ut verum fatear, inter eos qui literae sonum explicant in hoc Cantico semper meritoque censui antesignandum' [1619] (Reusch, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*). Indeed few of the subsequent host of commentators (cf. Antonio, *Bib. Nova*, i. 221, 239, 245, 256, 257, 260, 261, 303, 533, 567, 647, 714; ii. 11, 12, 63, 92, 159, 372, &c.) could afford to neglect Luis de Leon, and many of these commentaries must contain references to him such as that of Gaspar Sanchez, *In Cantica Canticorum Commentarii* (Lugduni, 1616): 'vir acri ingenio et singulari eruditione' (*Praefatio ad lectorem*). Sanchez died in 1628 aet. 75, 'robusta ac velut aenea valetudine semper usus.'

¹ Vol. iii, p. 572 (capítulo adicional): 'Falleció . . . fray Luis de Leon agustino, insigne teólogo y orador que comenzó a levantar la lengua castellana en grave elegancia y consonancia;' *ib.* p. 504: 'Murió . . . el padre maestro Fr. Luis de Leon Agustino, catedrático de teología de Salamanca, dulcísima y clarísima madre nuestra, insigne en la inteligencia de la Escritura y conocimiento de lenguas, que puso la castellana en grande exaltación; venció las persecuciones de sus enemigos en la Inquisición y por las tempestades constante pasó a mejor vida con general perdida desta nación.' Lope de Vega, Pacheco, Antonio and others also speak of his services to the Spanish language. Francisco del Rosal, in his *Origen y Etimología de la Lengua Castellana* [1601], quotes Luis de Leon as one of his authorities (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iv. 264). Later he was regarded as 'el mayor hombre de España en materia de language' (*ib.* iv. 715).

² *Libro de Verdaderos Retratos* (1599). Cf. the MS. *Granada, o Descripción historial* [1621] in Gallardo, i. 866: 'El doctísimo fray Luis de Leon, del Orden de San Agustín, catedrático de vispera de Salamanca, y el más sabio y universal de su tiempo; escribió el libro de los Nombres de Cristo, el de la Perfecta Casada, el de los Cantares.' The most personal note is in the praise of Cervantes. It is not certain that Luis de Leon knew Cervantes personally or that Cervantes studied at Salamanca. The 'estímulo intelectual' of which Doña Blanca de los Ríos speaks (*Del Siglo de Oro*, p. 186) may well have been the preface to *De los Nombres de Cristo*, not years spent at Salamanca. Yet one cannot help thinking that there was some personal connexion. Fray Luis's relations with the Portocarreros were very close, and in Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero's promise to pay 500 ducats to Cervantes's sister Magdalena on the death of his father Pedro de Portocarrero († 1575), of Goleta fame (an earlier Pedro de Portocarrero was brother of the Duke of Escalante), we may like to see an instance of Fray Luis's strenuous love of justice.

IX

Character and Ideas

'V' ha alcune poche persone al mondo condannate a riuscir male cogli uomini in ogni cosa a cagione che, non per isperienza nè per poca cognizione della vita sociale, ma per una loro natura immutabile, non sanno lasciare una certa semplicità di modi, privi di quelle apparenze e di non so che mentito ed artifiziato che tutti gli altri, anche senza punto avvedersene, ed anche gli sciocchi, usano ed hanno sempre nei modi loro e che è in loro ad essi medesimi malagevolissimo a distinguere dal naturale.'—GIACOMO LEOPARDI.

'Ni el temor de los muchos, ni el desprecio para con él de los pocos, ni en público ni en secreto, ni callando ni hablando, ni en su casa ni fuera de ella, pudieron moverle a ser hipócrita ni a que colorase su vida con falsas apariencias fingidas.'—LUIS DE LEON.

'Veritas enim odium parit. Itaque qui non ad gratiam loquuntur, ut adulatores, sed severe cuncta dicunt et agunt, ii odiis multorum sunt expositi.'—LUIS DE LEON.

FOR long it was customary to consider Luis de Leon's character in the light of his poem *Qué vida descansada*, and of the story of his resuming his lectures at Salamanca, after five years of absence and suffering, with the words 'As we were saying yesterday'. He was regarded as a monk in ecstasy, listening for three hundred years to the bird in the convent garden and singing the 'life removed', a mystic with his eyes raised heavenward and his cold unimpassioned thoughts soaring far above all earthly disquiet and all interest in earthly things. Fresh evidence, and especially the publication of the documents relating to his trial before the Inquisition, has proved that Fray Luis by no means always dwelt on the serene heights of the Ode to Salinas. Any-one, indeed, attaining such heights without a struggle would be perhaps more enviable than interesting. 'It is no marvel,' says Luis de Leon, 'if many stones fall from the top of a mountain down its slopes, but if even one were to climb from the mountain's foot to its summit that would be a marvel indeed; so it is no wonder if many sin, following their nature, but wonderful if even one strives against the current, and, being earth, travels heavenward.'¹ To some this new light on Fray Luis's character may bring disillusion, to many he will seem at once more human

¹ *Exposicion de Job*, i. 8.

and attractive, and more, not less, noble by reason of being austere by training rather than by nature, a vehement, passionate man who through conflicts in his own mind—the *crueles peleas* of which he speaks—and battles with others only after long strife and constant self-discipline attained 'the mighty life we see.' It is easy to take contrary views of one so various and many-sided. The son of a Castilian gentleman, his temperament was that of a poet, sensitive, personal, subjective, lyrical, intense. High-strung and nervous, he was as easily dejected as elated by passing events. It may be well to inquire how far the character and ideas of one who had lived in a convent since the age of fifteen are derived directly from life and how far they are presented to us intellectually, through the veil of literature, philosophy, and religion. Fray Luis's life was extraordinarily active and was never that of a recluse.¹ A convent, like a college, gave a shrewd knowledge of men, and he was professor, lecturer, and preacher in a University where the harassing publicity to which professors were subjected proved too much even for a layman like Clenardus. The most unobservant man who traversed the length and breadth of Spain on mule-back, as did Fray Luis, in that period of upheaval, the sixteenth century, could not fail to obtain an insight into the character of life and men, and Fray Luis was the keenest of observers. He can write about modern fashions ('los bordados que se usan agora') and the false fringes worn by women, their dress, and the painting of their faces. 'I know your paintings,' he says as scornfully as Hamlet.² He has something to say about men's breath and their lips and shifty eyes.³ He had observed the eyes of doves and the way, still to be seen in the country round Madrigal, in which the sheep under the fierce summer sun in that treeless land cluster together until they seem to form one large fleece.⁴ He had keen admiration for a well-managed house, *casa hermosa*, for troops drawn up in line of battle,⁵ and the 'towers, domes,

¹ Reusch, *op. cit.*, p. 5 realized this: 'nicht als einen beschaulichen Klosterbruder.'

² They did not mend their ways, witness an Italian account in 1594 (Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, p. 178).

³ *Cantar de Cantares*, iv. 2; *Opera*, ii. 286, 384.

⁴ *Opera*, ii. 233.

⁵ *In Canticum Canticorum*, *Opera*, ii. 346: 'est enim omnium pulcherrima

theatres and temples' of a capital city.¹ He was a lover of horses.² He was also a lover of children, as became one with his deep love of Nature and chivalrous disposition. One thinks of the delightful passage in *La Perfecta Casada*³ ('Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem'), or the even more delightful passage of *De los Nombres de Cristo*. He returns more than once to a subject that perplexed him, the condemnation of unbaptized infants—'isti parvuli'.⁴ Weakness in itself was a sure way to his heart. There never lived a man more chivalrous. We know how, regardless of consequences to himself, he would come forward in support of any one hard pressed, whether it was a question of a friend, like Grajal or Martínez, or of a stranger, like Fray Prudencio Montemayor. Although his view of women's ability might be that of his time, he wishes them to have the

res maximeque aspici digna militum acies instructa'; 'armorum splendore et signis militaribus acies effulgens et ad aspectum pulcherrima'; and ib. P. 349.

¹ Ibid., p. 346: 'earum rerum quae non modo pulchrae sed amplae etiam et multa rerum varietate praeditae essent, quaeque augustissimam speciem habent, quales sunt urbes regiaae, et cum murorum, porticum [sic], templorum, turrium reliquorumque aedificiorum magnitudine et varietate spectabiles, tum civium numero et populi universi frequentia, caeterarumque abundantia rerum quae ad vitae cultum spectant, insignes.' Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i (1914), p. 166: 'se fortalecen las ciudades con muros y se ennoblecen con sumptuosos palacios.'

² *Cantar de Cantares*, i. 8: 'Hermosa cosa es y llena de brio una yegua blanca y bien enjaezada, cuales son las que hoy dia los señores usan en los coches.' Cf. *Opera*, ii. 28: 'Praestant equi inter omnia animantia apti membrorum et totius corporis compositione atque figura, inestque illis elegans quiddam atque generosum, idque cum molli flexu crurum, tum elatione cervicis oculorumque alacritate, tum spiritu ipso atque hnnitu prae se ferunt; quae eadem in equabus quam in equis speciosiora sunt.' Cf. his poem *Del mundo y su vanidad* ('el caballo brioso').

³ § xviii: 'Porque qué trabajo no paga el niño a la madre cuando ella le tiene en el regazo desnudo? cuando él juega con la teta? cuando la hiere con la manecilla? cuando la mira con la risa? cuando gorjea? Pues cuando se le anuda al cuello y la besa paréceme que aun la deja obligada.' Cf. *Cantar de Cantares*, ii. 15: 'Cuando una madre ha estado ausente de su niño,' etc., and ib. ii. 10 and viii. 2; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 54; *Opera*, ii. 410; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i (1914), p. 112: 'No aveis visto algunas madres, Sabino, que teniendo con sus dos manos las dos de sus niños hazen que sobre sus pies dellas pongan ellos sus pies y assi los van allegando a sí y los abrazan?' He would not, however, have children treated with excessive indulgence. Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xxix. 4: 'la mancebía y niñez, porque no solamente está sujeta a la reprensión y castigo, mas le conviene que la reprendan y afrenten,' and ib. xxxvi. 10: 'el uso con que solemos advertir a los niños con un repelón o con tirarles ligeramente la oreja.'

⁴ Cf. *Opera*, vii. 88, 111, 125.

protection and consideration due to their weakness or inferiority.¹ God hates inhumanity and lying,² however much they clothe themselves in holy zeal. He denounces the distraining of the goods of the poor as an iniquity: 'if he cannot pay his debt he will have no furniture to spare.'³ He stands up for the despised *morena*, for down-trodden servants, for the sick, the afflicted; he is the friend of stammering Grajal and blind Salinas. The just will be 'protectors of the weak'.⁴ It was this pity and chivalry which led him to denounce all tyranny or abuses of power and brought him many enemies. There was a strain of impatience in his character which might easily have led him into intellectual arrogance:

No condeno del mundo
La máquina, pues es de Dios hechura.

He has to remind himself as well as others that pride is the beginning of sin and must be plucked forthwith out of the mind by the roots; that God sends help in due time 'if less quickly than we desire'; that humility, gentleness, meekness, and submission are peculiarly Christian virtues and acceptable to God, that burdens must be borne without anger or impatience;⁵ while he constantly ponders over the problem of the afflictions of the just and the prosperity of the wicked.⁶ If Luis de Leon did not suffer fools gladly it was primarily on account of their presumption, not of their ignorance.⁷ His satire flashes about

las mujeres en general es cosa

...ajás de casa, y que sacarse las por premio.

¹ *La Perfecta Casada*, §§ xi, xii; *Exposición de Job*, lvi. 3 ('lo que la comun humanidad sermo aplicarle nuevas causas de mal sería crueldad señalada'); xvii. 7 ('la piedad que a la miseria se debe'); vi. 27 ('lo que la comun humanidad para los afligidos obliga'); xix. 3 ('perseguir a un miserable . . . es caso vilísimo y de corazones bajos y villanos y desnudos de toda humanidad y virtud'); xxix. 20; *In Abdiam, Opera*, iii. 90 and 112; *Exp. de Job*, xxxi. 16; *Opera*, iii. 101 ('magno viro non dignum saevire in jacentes et humiles').

² Cf. *Opera*, iii. 65; ii. 39, 156, 289; i. 179, 445, 446, 449, 501. So in his letter of June 16, 1590, he says that 'es menester esperar a Dios que como provee en muchas cosas no segun nuestra prisa,' &c.

³ *Exposición de Job*, *passim*, and other works. E. g. *Opera*, i. 446, 447.

⁴ *Opera*, vii. 377: 'multi sapientes se esse profitentur, a quo absunt longissime, quod est stultitiae genus maximum'; v. 303: 'stulti homines et impii,

those who have the title of theology without the theology, those who refrain most religiously from Hebrew studies, those who imagine themselves learned because they have a few books which they do not read.¹ The critics generally come off almost as badly² as at the hands of El Brocense. He believed, indeed, with the wise king, that the number of fools is infinite, and had suffered from them in his daily life: from the *mujer necia y parlera*, the scold, the ignorant but presumptuous professor, the stolid student, from the excessive zeal of inquisitorial busy-bodies and 'most religious' fanatics and the prudery of hypocritical 'saints'.³ 'A grievous thing, says Fray Luis, is an obstinate fool, one who understands less the more one says to him; and much more so if his words and his obstinacy are

cum exaltantur, maxime patent'; *Exposición de Job*, iv. 6, 'la necedad no es otra cosa sino una gran confianza de sí'; ib. xv. 5: 'mide las cosas todas por su razon.'

¹ *Opera*, ii. 111: 'a quibus [Hebraeis] isti litteris, quo suae inscitiae prae-textant, religiosissime abinent'; *Doc. inéd.* x. 371: 'dijo que el no quería saber más de a Sancto Tomas y los Sanctos y Soto y Cano y no novedades: digo que esta manera de hablar es ordinaria en todos los que saben poco y se quieren persuadir que saben mucho, y se lisonjean a si mismos y les parece que con tener diez pares de libros llenos de polvo en su aposento y con llamarse maestros han satisfecho al nombre de letrados y en el resto pueden alargar la rienda al sueño y a la buena vida largamente,' &c. This is almost an echo of Petrarca, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, i. 44: 'Sunt qui quicquid in libris scriptum domi habent nosse sibi videantur, cumque ulla de re mentio incidit, "Hic liber", inquirunt, "in armario meo est," hoc tantum, idque sufficere opinantes, quasi simul in pectore sit, elato supercilio conticescunt.'

² 'Stulti sunt'; 'mihi communi sensu carere videntur'; 'pravissime et ineptissime intelligunt' (*Opera*, v. 384; ii. 109, 111, 112).

³ *Opera*, iii. 36; *Exp. de Job*, xxii. 1 ('Es fuerte cosa un necio que presume de santo, que todo le escandaliza y en todo halla en su parecer que reñir'); *La Perfecta Casada*, § xvi ('una mujer necia y parlera... es intolerable negocio'; 'conoci yo una mujer que cuando comía reñía y cuando venía la noche reñía tambien, y el sol cuando nacia la hallaba riendo,' &c. &c.); *Exposición de Job*, xix. 3 ('Mas Dios nos libre de un necio tocado de religioso y con celo imprudente, que no hay enemigo peor'); ibid. xiv. 1 ('como lo que padece un maestro ingenioso con un discípulo rudo, que se atormenta enseñándole y hace con él lo que diera ingenio a una piedra, y al fin sale sin fruto'); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 147: 'tractar con un hombre cabeçudo por una parte y que no admite razon y por otra poderoso para hazer lo que dize, que es trabajo y fuerte caso'; cf. ib. i. 119; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 9: 'Y con un pequeño gusto de ciertas cuestiones contentos e hinchados tienen títulos de maestros teólogos y no tienen la teología'; *Opera*, ii. 361 (of the religious only in name); *Opera*, i. 457, 458 ('ne simus curiosi inquisitores in aliorum vitas, facta aut dicta; curiosi indagatores rerum aliorum'); 'grandes e ingeniosos consejeros en lo que menos les toca' (fragmentary life of Santa Teresa). He says of himself that 'no es mofador ni murmurador' (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 272).

directed against oneself!¹ Often he uses the words 'foolish' and 'wicked' as convertible terms.² Thus, stupidity for him consisted in perversity and conceit, not merely in ignorance, despite his own consuming love of knowledge. His remark 'Avet autem quisque id scire quod ignorat' was at least true of himself.³ Characteristically he argues that Christ acquired particular knowledge of many things because it was not fitting that He should be deprived of the great joy felt when the darkness surrounding the nature of things yields to light after being examined by the keenness of our intellect.⁴ Equally characteristic is his interpretation of the verse of *Ecclesiastes*, from which he ingeniously extracts a sense precisely opposite to that which the words generally bear, and by repeating a negative triumphantly infers that the memory of the wise man shall *not* perish, and that all things are *not* vain but 'studio digna esse et perutilia videntur.'⁵ *Sabiduria* is wisdom of the heart, not acquired by learning, much less a monopoly of high place.⁶ 'Silver is found in deepest veins and man knows the place where gold is; he has skill to make iron of dust and to extract copper from stones; he reaches the abysses where day never comes and night and thick darkness ever reign, in pursuit of precious metals. Man in his daring and persistence will find a new world

¹ *Exposicion de Job*, xix. 2.

² e. g. *Opera*, i. 311; iii. 60 ('stulti omnes, id est flagitiosi universi ab Stoicis merito nominantur servi, quamvis sint reges'); iii. 65; i. 329, 451 ('num est hoc summae stultitiae in peccato perseverare'); iii. 92 ('omnes improbi sunt stulti'); *Exp. de Job*, xxxvi. 5 ('el que sirve a sus vicios, por grande que sea en lo demás, vil es y muy bajo, y así mismo ignorante y ciego quien no sabe ser hombre, aunque en lo demás tenga ciencia'); v. 303 ('stulti homines et inscii'); vii. 375 ('stultis omnibus, id est pravis et injustis hominibus'). The *sabio* is the wise-hearted, the others are *ἄχθος ἀπούρητος*: 'leños sin vida y sin fruto, aploman, pisan y cansan la tierra' (*Exp. de Job*, xxxiv. 10).

³ *Opera*, ii. 445. Cf. i. 341: 'ipsique homini magnam cupiditatem indidit [sc. Deus] cognoscendi quae ejusque rei natura esset'.

⁴ *De Incarnatione (Opera)*, iv. 382: 'nec erat conveniens ut Christus fraudaretur illa voluptate quae maxime perficitur cum res naturae obscurae, acie mentis nostrae pervestigatae, in lucem proferuntur.'

⁵ *In Eccl.* i. 8; ii. 16; *Opera*, i. 299, 332, 333: 'quibus verbis non affirmat, ut nonnulli parum considerate arbitrantur, neutrius memoriam permansuram . . . Repeti . . . negatio debet ut sit: Neque moritur, uti ego falso credebam, doctus pariter cum indocto.' Cf. *Exp. de Job*, i. 1: 'simple, y no quiere decir en el saber, que eso no merece loor.'

⁶ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxii. 9 ('el buen seso y buen saber, como no nace de los años, así tan poco viene de los oficios preeminentes').

unknown even to the birds of the air and utterly hidden from us, and when he has discovered it he will overturn its mountains and blast its rocks and penetrate its rivers and draw from it incredible riches. Everything can he attain but wisdom, unless it be given him from Heaven.'¹ Therefore, he considers, wise men are worthy of great wealth, yes, and the learned should have favour among the people, although the unlearned and unskilled have a specious eloquence and an impudence which are more likely to win this favour.² Luis de Leon frequently speaks of the limits of human understanding. A full knowledge is reserved for hereafter. The ways of God to men cannot be known by man, however wise, intelligent, and inquiring. Proud minds eager to discover the secrets of God (*scrutari arcana Dei*) are punished.³ It was indeed his unwearying love of knowledge that taught him how small a part could be unravelled by man. A superficial judge of character might consider Fray Luis proud and overbearing; the few who knew him intimately must have realized how genuine and profound was his humility, *cordis humilitas*, as regards his own gifts and merits;⁴ with regard to others it perhaps savoured a little of that of Manzoni's nobleman who would stand and serve his servants but not sit down with them at table. He was proud by nature, humble *virtute*. The just do not recognize men's praise or their own gifts as due to any merit of their own and accept them with gratitude, but shun those worldly honours which others pursue without scruple or restraint.⁵ But the further he penetrated into the depths of

¹ *Ibid.*, xxviii. 12.

² *In Ecclesiastem* (*Opera*, i. 507): 'sapientes dignissimi sunt ut abundant omnibus rebus'; '... scientes et eruditi, nam hujusmodi hominibus maxime videtur deberi gratia popularis, et tamen (ut inquit Hieronymus in hoc loco) saepe accidit ut quis [?] magis] imperitus et indoctus, linguae in volubilitate et oris impudentia, in gratia sit apud homines quam doctus et eruditus.'

³ *Opera*, i. 495, 450, 460; v. 606-7.

⁴ *Opera*, ii. 363: 'agnitionem sui humilem atque veram'; i. 472: 'qui vere sapientes sunt . . . modestissimi sunt et de sese submisce et humiliter sentiunt.' Cf. *In Abdiam*, *Op.* iii. 61, 68; *Ad Galatas*, *Op.* iii. 182: 'quo Pauli exemplo docemur etiam eorum quae exercemus officiorum ac munerum honorificos titulos nisi necessaria de causa usurpandos non esse.'

⁵ *Opera*, ii. 396: 'Etenim laudes quas sibi ab hominibus tribui vident vel non agnoscunt vel certo ita sentiunt, si quid in ipsis sit laude et celebratione dignum, id nullo suo merito collatum ipsis esse, totum alienum esse, de quo

humility the higher he soared *in rebus coelestibus atque divinis*. Such are the just, rich and admirable within, lowly and worthless in appearance.¹ But Luis de Leon's magnificence, despite his extraordinary spiritual gifts, perhaps by reason of his spiritual outlook, was not wholly internal, and it is this which makes him so attractive a figure, although it might shock and dismay his more conventional or hypocritical colleagues. They thought him very free in his life and speech.² He said openly that it was no sin for a monk to possess more than half a crown;³ he believed and said that it was right for a monk to love his father and perhaps his brother more than his brother monks,⁴ that it was better to love God than to fast throughout Lent on bread and water, and that all a monk's penances might avail him nothing if his passions were still unsubdued. Pacheco's word portrait is perhaps a little too austere: we have a more temperate picture in *De los Nombres de Cristo*. Luis de Leon considered that one might enjoy a dinner, a picnic in a garden,⁵ wine in moderation (he often takes wine as an instance in his lectures), and he declared that it was a kind of crime to be lecturing at Salamanca

sibi si quicquam arrogant, scelus se et facinus inexpressibile commissuros putant'; ib. p. 397: 'tanquam penitus in illorum animis humilitas insedit,' etc. Luis de Leon certainly did not care overmuch for the praise of the *vulgo ciego*. Cf. *Cantar de Cantares* (Prólogo): 'ni cura que satisfaga a otros.' Cf. *Opera*, iv. 309 ('contemnere divitias et honores'). As to wealth, 'probis etiam in paupertate dives est' (*Opera*, vii. 441). Cf. *Opera*, vii. 397.

¹ *Opera*, ii. 392: 'Itaque modestissime de se sentiunt, nihil sibi arrogant . . . at eisdem rursus nihil est majus atque sublimius. Nam neque serviunt voluptatibus neque cedunt doloribus neque se vinci sinunt ab aliqua cupiditate prava, neque hominum minas neque adversae fortunae tela extimescunt et quibus rebus serviunt mortales caeteri iis illi omnibus imperant.' Cf. i. 392-94; iii. 58-9. Of himself Luis de Leon said that he was 'modesto, de condicion llana y humilde y deseoso de acertar' (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 272, 289).

² Licenciado Diego de Gaona 'le tenía por hombre algo atrevido en su manera de leer . . . le oía muy pocas veces por ver su desenvoltura en las liciones que leía' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 82); his friend, the doctor Ambrosio Nuñez, 'le tiene por apasionado y libre' (ib. xi. 314, 330).

³ *Doc. inéd.* x. 387. Cf. 42, 369 ('dos reales, un *agnus Dei*'); *Opera*, vi. 425-6.

⁴ *Opera*, vi. 271. Cf. v. 561-64.

⁵ Cf. *Opera*, ii. 325: 'Sicut festa die in hortis epulis vacare solent homines; *Opera*, i. 218: 'gaudium et animi relaxatio, quoniam ista proprie nascuntur ex cibo atque potu'; *Cantar de Cantares*, v. 2: 'lo que se suele hacer en un huerto deleitoso cuando algunas gentes se juntan en él para recrearse y tomar solaz, que no solamente cogen olorosas flores mas tambien suelen merendar en él y llevar vianda y vino y allá cogen de las frutas que hay; ' 'como se suele decir en los alegres convites, cuando con regocijo se convidan unos a otros . . . el gusto y pasatiempo que se recibe en un huerto en un día de

in the summer weather.¹ He is equally liberal in his views on gambling and betting. Although minors are not to gamble (and in his Latin lecture he adds in Spanish 'los estudiantes que estan en Salamanca'), nevertheless those who have a hundred ducats a year to spend² may well risk four or five at play. And the same is permissible for a monk studying at the University at the expense of the abbot of his convent or sojourning on business abroad. He quotes the great legal authorities Soto and Azpilcueta. He quotes Soto and others to the effect that the player may not win more than he can stake; 'but to me it seems hard that a poor man who has only four ducats and risks them on a game may not win more than four.'³ No wonder they loved his lectures. Luis de Leon took a generous view of life, judging not by the letter that kills but by the spirit which makes alive. Had not God, *magnificentissimus in liberalitate*, created the Universe with so wide a margin of invention that He made the whale in mere sport? ⁴ There was a touch of Aristotle's magnificent man about Fray Luis. A man is made more perfect, says he, by magnificence and justice.⁵ Pacheco tells us that he was *limpissimo*, and this with Luis de Leon, as with Santa Teresa, was not only a spiritual quality. A clean body, he says, is an indication of a well-ordered soul, the two being so intimately linked together,⁶ and he characteristically recommends cold water and a rough towel (Vives giving the same advice had merely *fiesta y de banquete*). Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 15 ('el exceso en las cenas suele quitar el sueño'); ib. 21 ('aviendo dado su refeccion al cuerpo con templanza').

¹ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 11-12.

² Mateo Alemán in *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599) tells us that a student with 150 ducats a year could live like a duke. In the last twelve years of the century the cost of living for a student with one servant at Salamanca more than doubled, being over 120 ducats in 1600. See Cristóbal Espejo, *La carestía de la vida en el siglo xvi*, &c., in *Revista de Archivos* (1921), p. 211.

³ For this very curious discussion see Luis de Leon's lectures *De Charitate, Opera*, vi. 409-23, especially pp. 410, 411.

⁴ *Exposicion de Job*, xl. 20.

⁵ *De Spe (Opera)*, v. 454: 'majorem enim perfectionem communicat illi magnificentia et justitia.'

⁶ *La Perfecta Casada*, § 20: 'es . . . indicio grande de la limpieza y buen concierto que hay en el alma el cuerpo limpio y bien aseado'; 'la mucha hermandad que tiene [el alma] con su cuerpo'; 'sin lo limpio no hay nada hermoso.' Of Santa Teresa he notes 'el aseo y buen parecer de su persona'. So he says that 'bien formado el cuerpo así le avendrá al alma después, cuyas costumbres ordinariamente nacen de sus inclinaciones de él'.

said 'a clean towel').¹ Very careful we may be sure he was too in his dress, a cassock with wide sleeves, a black cape (which did not reach to the elbows), and a leathern belt.² He was not tall, but was well-proportioned; his head was large and shapely, his complexion dark; his most notable features were the broad forehead (surmounted by thick and somewhat curly hair) and piercing green eyes. His health was never robust and his voice was exceptionally weak.³ A grave simplicity and humility were apparent in his face, which rarely relaxed into a smile.⁴ His humour was bitter, his satire could be very mordant, but he was a good friend of his friends, loyal to the core, practising and exacting truth and sincerity and ever faithful to his given word. Often reserved and silent,⁵ except when a momentary excitement or impatience

¹ *La Perfecta Casada*, § xii.

² Cf. Fray Juan Marquez, *Origen de los Frayles Ermitaños de la Orden de San Augustin* (Salamanca, 1618), p. 37: 'este hábito que oy traemos con su correa ancha de cuero, mangas largas, y capilla negra.'

³ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 68: 'segun es baxa mi voz'. On one occasion the students furthest from the lecturer's chair asked him to raise his voice, for they could not hear; and he answered, 'I am hoarse, and it is better to speak low, that the gentlemen of the Inquisition may not hear' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 193-94). Although he was fined for dictating, he seems only to have dictated a few passages here and there (*Doc. inéd.* xi. 134), and for the rest, as one might have expected, 'leía más apriesa que ningun otro letor teólogo y no volvía a repetir por las mismas palabras lo que decía' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 569). A witness at his trial accused him of gabbling over the Mass: 'hablaba tu tu tu de manera que no lo entendía y acababa muy presto' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 77). Luis de Leon indignantly refutes this and says that every word could be distinctly heard by those near (cf. the Augustinian rule of 1588: 'ita ut ab astantibus audiat'). As to his health generally he says (*Doc. inéd.* x. 386) that he is *tan delicado y lleno de enfermedades*, and there are a score of passages to the same effect scattered through his trial, his works, and letters.

Pacheco describes him as 'pequeño de cuerpo, en devida proporcion, la cabeça grande, bien formada, poblada de cabello algo crespo, i el cerquillo cerrado, la frente espaciosa, el rostro más redondo que aqueleño (como lo muestra el retrato), trigüeño el color, los ojos verdes i vivos'.

⁴ *Poco o nada risueño*, says Pacheco in the *Libro de descripcion*, &c., and this is borne out by the passage in which Luis de Leon, evidently thinking of himself, speaks of those who 'severe cuncta dicunt et agunt' (*Opera*, i. 432). Cf. *Opera*, i. 429: 'Nam moestitudo et severitas et in nobis et in aliis gignit cordatas et graves et sobrias cogitationes, risus contra leves ac stultas ac nonnunquam improbas.'

⁵ 'En lo moral con especial don de silencio, el hombre más callado que se ha conocido, si bien de singular agudeza en sus dichos, con extremo abstinentemente i templado en la comida, bebida i sueño; de mucho secreto, verdad i fidelidad; puntual en palabra i promesas; compuesto, poco o nada risueño. Leíase en la gravedad de su rostro el peso de la nobleza de su alma, resplandecía en medio desto por excelencia una umildad profunda; fue limpiísimo, mui onesto i recogido, gran religioso i observante de las leyes . . . con ser de



STATUE OF LUIS DE LEON AT SALAMANCA

drew from him one of those trenchant, concentrated remarks that were not easily forgotten, among a few congenial friends he could speak with a fervour and eloquence which made them hang upon his words.¹ It was then seen that his customary restraint was but the curb voluntarily imposed on a temperament naturally nervous and impatient. For Fray Luis, although not unaccustomed to the society of men of the highest rank, would have none of the pedantries of life any more than those of scholarship, and ever penetrated to the heart of things, thus offending some of the weaker brethren. His love of truth was such that he must speak it even if it were to his own credit or to the mortification of others. Castilian gentleman, Austin friar, professor, theologian, philosopher, scholar and bibliophile, a realist closely acquainted with civil and canon law, an idealist, with mystic longings and an imagination ever passing beyond the *flammanitia mœnia mundi*, a humanist combining scientific thought with love of learning, a poet in whom three great currents met,—the Roman culture (as represented especially by the idyllic poetry of Virgil and the wisdom of Horace), the grandeur and passion of the Hebrew poets, the ethereal beauty of the Greek,—his inner life consisted in reconciling all these ethical and aesthetic elements under the harmony of grace, that law of Christ which, appealing to the will as well as to the intelligence, stamps on the soul a powerful and efficacious bond of love, so that the soul's action is no longer a striving to observe or elude the law but a fulfilment of its own being and inclinations in accordance with the law. For no one acts as a slave in what he does keenly and with a will, and therefore the just are bound by the law, but are not constrained by it.² Temperate self-expression was thus Luis de Leon's aim, to be pursued with manly vigour

natural colerico fue mui sufrido i piadoso para los que le tratavan.' Pacheco, *loc. cit.* For his silence cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 22, and *Exposicion de Job*, xi. 2 ('quien mucho habla siempre yerra').

¹ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 64 and iii. 18. He is represented as *todo encendido en el rostro* (iii. 191).

² *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. ii (1917), p. 106. Cf. p. 163 ('consiste no tanto en aviso como en inclinacion'), 164, &c.; iii. 386 ('Nemo autem in eo servit quod cupide et alacriter facit; itaque iusti tenentur lege, sed sub lege non sunt': this is the true law of liberty, although it may not be spelt with a large L.).

and even vehemence; uncompromising advocacy of the moderate and reasonable, a noble but difficult principle. He would not countenance dull indifference, for although love must entail suffering, and 'all fear proceeds from love', love also ennobles: 'nullus amor bonus, de quacumque re ille sit, est amor mundi.'¹ It was not right to bury one's talents in a napkin. That was *genium defraudare*.² They must be used for one's own enjoyment and that of others. Luis de Leon, although he might dwell on the brevity and misery of mortal life³ and was inclined to pessimism,⁴ found in life a spiritual happiness, 'veram illam cordis laetitiam', and could temperately enjoy all the gifts of Nature.⁵ We are all, he says, greedy of joy and pleasure.⁶ We are not taught to kill these natural appetites, but must base them reasonably in the source of 'vera voluptas'. He constantly remarks that those who make money or pleasure or ambition their sole object have no enjoyment.⁷ The wicked possess in care and anguish, the pious in joy and tranquillity.⁸ It is true that the good are always victims of the wicked,⁹ but the wicked

¹ *Opera*, vi. 561.

² *Opera*, i. 336; cf. v. 606-7 and ii. 264: 'Nam qui bona quae a Deo acceperunt per suam socordiam vel inutilia reddunt vel in suam perniciem convertunt satis eo ipso docent se esse indignos quibus amplius benefiat.'

³ e. g. *Opera*, ii. 328: 'humanae vitae miseriae et acerbissima mala.'

⁴ 'Todas las cosas entre si pelean,' he says in *Del mundo y su vanidad*. Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xxix. 2: 'el alboroto y pelea universal de esta vida.' So (*Opera*, i. 437) he says that: 'Est enim stultum vitia hominum in tempus referre, aut non videre praeterita, quia ea non videmus aut experti sumus, idcirco nobis meliora videri', and 'nullum tempus fuisse quod vitio vacaret, in quo non alii alios opprimerent atque subjicerent' (ib. p. 438). Cf. i. 301: 'Nam neque arbitrandum est majores nostros meliorem mundo usos fuisse quam nos, nec sperandum fore ut venturis in annis novum existat aliquod terrae bonorum genus utilius ac melius, quibus hominis expletus animus bene et beate vivat'; and i. 303.

⁵ *Opera*, i. 135. Temperately enjoyed, they are 'jucundae atque dulces.'

⁶ *Opera*, i. 407: 'Sumus enim omnes laetitiae et voluptatis avidi'; ii. 43: 'Sumus enim natura omnes voluptatis appetentes et avidi'; iii. 387 (*Ad Galatas*, v. 12): 'Certe extinguenda non est [caro]'; 'nec enim omnes sunt vitiosi [carnis affectus] . . . ad mediocritatem potius reducendi sunt quam omnino elidendi aut evellendi; extirpari certe radicitus atque eradicari vix possunt'; vii. 424: 'non interdicat appetitum voluptatis atque jucundi, qui naturalis est,' &c.; i. 316: 'nam est quoddam honestum et probabile gaudium.'

⁷ e. g. *Opera*, vii. 424 ('maximos labores subeunt'); i. 397, 402; iii. 86-7 (avarice), i. 136 ('torquent se certe illi atque divexant'), i. 323 (pleasure); vii. 432; *Exposicion de Job*, xxxiv. 11).

⁸ *Opera*, vii. 430-1.

⁹ *Opera*, iii. 100, 101, 112.

really have no power over them because they value things differently. For the wise there is no division between love and happiness¹, since his enjoyment is spiritual and abides even after the loss of the object loved. Luis de Leon accepted the Stoic philosophy and frequently draws the distinction between external possessions and riches of the soul. What then was his ideal of the *vida descansada*? It is sometimes held that his lyrics must imply either cowardice² or insincerity, that they must be scholastic exercises or an evasion of life. In so active a life he might sing platonically the joys of a quiet beyond his grasp; but in this matter he speaks with no uncertain voice. Although he considered that the blind pursuit of riches and worldly honour often defeated its own end, his *otium* was not that of indolence or indulgence. Any true enjoyment must be preceded by severe self-discipline. He speaks of 'that quietness of the mind, that blessed sweetness of joy which the just experience after their labours.'³ Tranquillity is not attained by making it an aim; it is given unexpectedly and in overflowing measure to those who have schooled themselves to prefer the good of others to their own quiet.⁴ 'What', he asks, 'has that to do with a blessed life that one should lie under one's fig-tree and one's vine and gather the grapes, and with one's friends, free from war and fear, spend one's days in joy and pleasure?'⁵ If he seeks retirement it is in order to employ it fruitfully, since he who wishes to reach perfection's height must be free from private or public care and live in freedom, quiet and solitude, which is only for those whose desires are disciplined and overcome, and are in no danger of yielding to effeminate idleness.⁶

¹ Cf. *Opera*, iii. 391 ('E charitate porro gaudium sequitur'); vi. 300 ('gaudium est effectus amoris').

² Cf. Miguel de Unamuno, *Ensayos*, t. i (1916), p. 176.

³ *Opera*, ii. 203: 'illam animi quietem, illamque laetitiae beatam dulcedinem quae justos jam perfunctos laboribus sequi solet.'

⁴ *Opera*, ii. 352 ('aliorum salutem suae anteferre quieti'); 355 ('summa praeterea et facultate et voluntate aliis benefaciendi tanquam mortalis quidam deus sibi felix, caeteris salutaris in terris versatur').

⁵ *Opera*, ii. 357 ad fin.

⁶ *Opera*, ii. 294, 71, 72, 161 ('sanctum illud et fructuosum bonorum otium'); i. 27; ii. 80 ('hardship by habit becomes a pleasure rather than a penance'); i. 149 ('vacare Deo animo pacato atque tranquillo'); *La Perfecta Casada*, § ix ('el ocio el por sí afemina').

They little know Luis de Leon who imagine that his 'life removed' was to be an existence of sloth and self-indulgence. He was all energy and action. It is characteristic that he looked forward to a life after death full of *agilitas*.¹ No 'pransi repimus tria millia' for Fray Luis! So he would have men cast aside a life of enervating luxury and 'aspirar a cosas grandes', 'negocios y pretensiones nobles y honrosas,'² into which they may carry an unassailable tranquillity of spirit.³ Thus the ideal of his lyrics is partly the natural craving of an exceptionally busy life,⁴ partly a reaction against the prevailing vanity, avarice and ambition, the materialism of the *asoti*.⁵ On one point Luis de Leon lays especial stress: on the constancy of the just man in good and evil fortune, perhaps because it was peculiarly difficult for his nervous temperament to attain Horatian equanimity (of his impetuosity and changing moods we have various hints),⁶ whereas the just man was to be impervious to any changes of fortune; as was indeed the case with Luis de Leon, despite occasional pessimism and superficial asperities. In his later years he may have attained to something of that 'gravedad afable y dulce' of which he speaks in a passage of one of his most masterly books.⁷ That he was a man of great

¹ *Opera*, i. 97: 'nam rei torpenti et gravi, quale corpus terrenum est, tribuet summam agilitatem in illa nova vita'; i. 160: 'inest ei summa et pulchritudo et agilitas.' He himself walked quickly and admired the beauty of swift motion (*Cantar de Cantares*, vii. 1: 'Bien se descubre sobre los vestidos el grueso y buen talle de los muslos, mayormente quando se va con priesa y contra el aire'). Cf. *De los Nombres*, iii. 172 ('las fuerzas y la ligereza del movimiento y el buen parecer'), and his picture of the active housewife in *La Perfecta Casada*.

² *Exposicion de Job*, xxxi. 8. Cf. *Opera*, i. 29 ('robur ad praeclare agendum'); ii. 398 ('Christiani hominis vita militia quaedam est'); *De los Nombres*, ii. 99 ('pisa el vano gozo'); *Exp. de Job*, ii. 10 ('el placer de los flacos es'). ³ *Opera*, ii. 420-21.

⁴ Cf. *Opera*, iii. 450: 'Nam homines laborantes nihil ardentius desiderant quam requiem.'

⁵ *Opera*, i. 289. Elsewhere he speaks of 'bene nati animi', 'hombre de bien' (vi. 395).

⁶ Cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 69 ('se alteró mucho'); ib. xi. 336 ('tornó a decir palabras muy ásperas'); xi. 337 ('le dijo el dicho maestro fray luis que no decía verdad'). When he was in danger of arrest, a friend who knew him well in writing to him bade him calm himself, and on the way to prison he was nervously talkative. Of his silent energy Zúñiga had experience when at Valladolid 'sin le decir para qué, le sacó fuera y le llevó en casa de un Inquisidor' (*Doc. inéd.* x. 70).

⁷ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 218. 'La soledad no es buena,' he says in

moral courage and energy there can be no doubt, whatever natural timidity there may have been (as in the character of his fellow-Manchegan, Melchor Cano) beneath his vehemence.¹ Clear-sighted and pessimistic, but not suspicious,² his life was a battle of the spirit against the letter, against pedantry of every kind.³ His penetrating genius, to which Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon alludes, shows itself admirably in his translations and other works and evidently loved to wrestle with intellectual difficulties.⁴ His glowing fervour might be cited in a hundred passages.

Happiness and tranquillity of mind were to be the reward of him who sacrificed his own quiet to the service of others. But the world sometimes has surprises in store for such disinterestedness. For his part Luis de Leon had a lifelong passion for truth, and a zeal for reform such as entitles him to be called the Spanish Savonarola. His keen mind stripped away pretence and dealt always in the essential. If he displayed intolerance it was of hypocrisy, presumption, and tyranny; his impatience was what

another passage (iii. 37). Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xxxix. 11: 'Y a quien halla en la soledad paraíso quién le traerá al tormento que el bullicio y variedad del mundo y de sus cosas tiene?'; *Cantar de Cantares*, viii. 2; *Opera*, i. 371: 'nostrae naturae ratione communiter est utile amicitias colere et in societate vivere hominum.' His love of Nature and of the country is apparent in his poems and in many passages of his prose. Cf. vii. 9 ('los bienes y deleites de la vida del campo'). But he preserves his balance, he can admire cities (cf. also *Exp. de Job*, xxxix. 10); he frequently shows his moderation and good sense (cf. *Opera*, vi. 342, 348, 371, 429, and his disapproval of indiscriminate charity in *La Perfecta Casada*).

¹ In an interesting passage of *De los Nombres de Cristo* he argues that the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane is not to be attributed to fear (ii. 80-2). Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xx. 25: 'cuando uno sobreviene a otro a quien hace ventaja en fuerzas con el cuchillo alto y relumbrando en la mano, el acometido huye y padece mul miedos.'

² Cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 366: 'Es de mi condicion no creer mal de nadie hasta que lo veo.' Cf. *Opera*, iii. 100: 'semper enim pii impiis praedae fuerunt'; *Exp. de Job*, xxx. 9: 'no nos queremos desengañar de lo poco que podemos fiar de ellos.' In *Opera*, v. 600 he refers briefly to *accidia*.

³ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 27: 'siempre fué flaca defensa asirse a la letra cuando la razon evidente descubre el verdadero sentido,' ib. ii. 60, &c.

⁴ Cf. *Opera*, iii. 108 ('perobscurus locus'); iii. 125 ('qui locus, quoniam paulo obscurior semper est habitus, age de eo aliquanto latius disseramus'); iii. 329 ('acris et difficilis quaestio'); iv. 162 ('diligens explicatio'); i. 98 ('miras difficultates'); i. 204 ('Hic psalmus—LXVII—valde nobilis est sed multis difficultatibus involutus, ideoque illum elegi ad interpretandum'); i. 417 ('perobscurum'). In *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 114 he says of a difficulty: 'quisiera yo más oír el parecer ajeno que no dar el mío.'

Sigüenza described as *un coraje santo*. He perhaps was inclined to forget that all civilization and society have in them an element of pretence, and when he found men less straightforward than himself he was tempted to say with David that all men are liars. His own love of truth was uncompromising. It is delightful to find him elaborately vindicating the truthfulness of the Prophets, of St. Paul ('a mendacio Paulum libero'), even of Jacob, who, he contended, was not lying when he passed himself off as the firstborn.¹ More than once he declares that the end does not justify the means.² Falsehood is not permissible even to save the life of the community.³ As to honour, there is nothing viler and more unworthy of a man than to deceive and lie. There are lies of action which are much worse than those of words. God, who is the essence of simplicity and truth, abhors falsehood. Truth changes not and has always been known, but false opinions fall with the years, and time destroys and extinguishes them and thus they have ever modern beginnings.⁴ He even speaks out against the fiction by which the Inquisition handed over the condemned to the civil power with an exhortation to mercy. This, he says, has given the heretics occasion to mock the Church, accusing it of Pharisaism. It is ridiculous for lawyers to say that this is done by the Church in order to avoid irregularity, since the Church is the author of the heretic's death, even though with feigned words it requests the contrary.⁵ The practice, he points out, was originally introduced in cases of forgery, a civil and less serious offence than heresy, and 'must not be extended to heretics'. This is doubly interesting because it shows how thoroughly Luis de Leon probed the practice and tenets of the Church, and that if he did not speak out on other points it was because he found no falseness and 'ficta verba'.

¹ See *In Abdiam, Ad Galatas, De Fide* (*Opera*, iii. 123, 251, 257; v. 136). To Jacob he returns in *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 96, and says that he acted 'por artificio'.

² e. g. *De Charitate* (*Opera*, vi. 199, 245).

³ *La Perfecta Casada*, § iii; *Exposicion de Job*, xl. 6, xlii. 8; *Ad Thessalonicenses* (*Opera*, iii. 470).

⁴ *Exposicion de Job*, xv. 18.

⁵ *De Fide* (*Opera*, v. 439, 440): 'quae res haereticis praebuit magnam causam Ecclesiam irridendi'; 'quidam iuristae dicunt fieri hoc ab Ecclesia ne irregularitatem incurrat, sed hoc ridiculum est, nam sine dubio auctor mortis est qui anathemate compellit ut interficiatur haereticus, quamvis fictis verbis contrarium roget'; 'nec constitutio illius capitis ad haereticos debet extendi.'

The vice of hypocrisy he considered the fruit and crown of all other vices.¹ It was inevitable that so consistent a scorner of compromise and pretence should make enemies. Truth, he says, loves not fancy that distorts, nor ignorance that blinds, but a clear, dispassionate, and just understanding. Preachers must be like an ivory tower and not obscure the simple truth of the Gospel with ornaments and words pleasant to the ear.² The just care not for the judgements of the world, but break through them and are filled with a holy freedom.³ For although he knew that truth might be inconvenient,⁴ nevertheless, like Polybius, he considered that it is the greatest divinity of all.⁵ So he preferred and practised outspokenness as against vindictiveness.⁶ In *De los Nombres de Cristo* we see Marcelo 'metido en calor'. Luis de Leon's vehemence in argument matches the point and subtlety of his remarks, although he is careful to be fair to opponents.⁷ His vehemence was due not only to a natural impatience but to a hatred of hypocrisy and pretence. He had little regard for the man who is silenced by fear and withdraws into his shell, closing the doors of his house behind him.⁸ Deceit

¹ In *Psalmum LVII* (*Opera*, i. 196): 'Nam sine dubio hoc vitium hypocrisis . . . est quasi fructus et tanquam culmen aliorum vitiorum'.

² *Cantar de Cantares*, vii. 4: 'ni dejen de decir rasamente lo que deben ni oscurezcan con afeitados colores ni con palabras enderezadas a solo el gusto de los oyentes la sencillez y pureza de la santa doctrina y la verdad no artificiosa del Evangelio.'

³ ib. viii. 2 ('rompe por todas [las leyes del mundo] y hace ley por si solo a todos y sale con ella, porque al fin la verdad y la razon es la que vence').

⁴ *Opera*, i. 431-7: 'Veritas enim odium parit.' Cf. pp. 430, 433, 434.

⁵ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 63: '¡O como es luz la verdad!' Cf. ib. iii. 227.

⁶ ib. iii. 136: 'ni calla para guardarse a su tiempo'; cf. *Opera*, i. 202: 'dubitandum non est quam iusti desiderent punitionem malorum . . . non inducuntur ad id desiderandum odio inimicorum suorum aut cupiditate propriae vindictae.' For his own severity and its effects cf. *Opera*, i. 428, 429, 430 ('objurgatoris autem effectus est correctio ex qua salus animi oritur'), 431, 434 ('calumnia et odium eorum quos corripiunt').

⁷ Cf. *Opera*, iii. 21 ('velint nolint'), 22 ('ridicule'), 135 ('O indignum facinus!'), 147 ('turpiter peccant'), 151 ('pudet me caecitatis istorum'), 169 ('an probationes? At affert nullas'). Cf. the sarcasm and invective in *La Perfecta Casada* and in many passages of his trial. In *Exposicion de Job*, xxxii. 7 he speaks of 'hablar con vehemencia y con estudio y diligencia, esto es hablar acertada y discretamente.' His was 'una santa osadía que entre amigos se sufre y perdona . . . teniendo cubierta en su ánimo la modestia y paciencia, se muestra osado inadvertidamente en la boca' (ib. xxxviii. 2), unlike those who 'aliud ore promunt, aliud pectore occultant' (*Opera*, ii. 167).

⁸ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxi. 34: 'ni callaba vencido del miedo, ni se encogia,

in his eyes was an offence against man and God;¹ and vindictiveness was a kind of deceit;² although the just man might hope that his enemies would be punished, the best punishment being to heap coals of fire on their heads.³ Luis de Leon's strenuous invective was not a mark of narrowness but accompanied an extraordinarily rich, various, and generous nature. His capacity for appreciation (as in his generous understanding of Santa Teresa) and for enjoyment seems to have been unfailing. All things in their due season are *utilia et iucunda* and habit makes even the worst penance a pleasure,⁴ habit which can be like a chain of iron, deep almost as life.⁵ Naturally ardent,⁶ he himself bound all his impulses with the girdle of temperance⁷ and an iron self-discipline,⁸ and became a Christian Stoic, and, if he did not spare himself or others, he nevertheless found reconciliation and hope in the 'new law', the law of love: 'omnium virtutum lucidissimum lumen charitas.'⁹ It has sometimes been discussed whether Luis de Leon may be ranked among the

ni se encerraba vilmente en sus puertas, sino hablaba y volvía con libertad por la justicia.'

¹ *Exposicion de Job*, xl. 6 and v. 3. Cf. *Opera*, ii. 70: 'ne pro pietate hypocrisin, pro religione superstitionem, pro severitate crudelitatem sectetur.'

² *Opera*, vi. 225 ('nihil aliud esse remittere odium quam vere et ex animo remittere'). Cf. vi. 208, 219 ad fin.; i. 435 ('non omnem iram etiam esse inutilem et vituperandam,' but 'vindicta est contra charitatem'). In the *Exposicion de Job* he speaks of *la rabia de la venganza* (iii. 15).

³ *Exposicion de Job*, xxiv. 20; xxxi. 29 ('no vengativo'); xlii. 8 ('la vergüenza y confusion que en un ofensor injusto causa el ver que su ofendido en retorno es su bienhechor . . . es una santa venganza').

⁴ *Opera*, i. 340, ii. 80, 226 (fasting 'prompte et delectabiliter'); the hard ground becomes 'lecho delicado'.

⁵ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxix. 11 ('la costumbre y el estilo comun cadena de hierro').

⁶ Cf. his description of thirst as 'una manera de rabia que no sufre tardanza' (Psalm xli. 2) and his remark that eggs cannot be eaten without salt. One feels that Fray Bartolomé de Medina would eat them without salt. It is characteristic of Fray Luis that he should furnish us with these minute indications of character.

⁷ Cf. *Opera*, vi. 81; iv. 393 ('Christus fuit . . . temperatissimus'); *Exposicion de Job*, i. 1 ('inclinaciones templadas').

⁸ *Opera*, v. 60 ('ex imperio voluntatis cujus tanta est vis'); *Exposicion de Job*, xxix. 5 (the soul 'emperatriz sobre sí'); ib. xx. 2 ('son los [pensamientos sabios] que ponen al hombre freno y le vuelven y revuelven como caballo'); *Opera*, i. 154 ('hac una ratione se a suis adversariis superari posse atque vinci ipsum si prius cupiditates vicerint suae'), iii. 190 ('qui suas cupiditates compressas habet ei uti extra omnem fortunae aleam constituto nemo nocere potest').

⁹ *Opera*, ii. 323.

mystics. It is clear that he had progressed far along the Mystic Way and that, if his writings are not to be called mystical, the number of Spanish works deserving that title will have to be much restricted. He had listened to the 'turturea Spiritus Sancti vox gemitibus inenarrabilibus';¹ he was not unversed 'en los resplandores de la contemplacion y en los arrobamientos del espíritu';² he had tasted the 'blandura y dulzor' of communing with God.³ But if he had approached that state of ecstasy which he describes so well, in his commentary on the *Song of Songs* and elsewhere,⁴ he never attained the 'abismal deleite' of 'union' nor the visions of Santa Teresa. His vision was perhaps too direct and detailed: a figure of which one could not see the colour of the eyes would have seemed to him vague and indistinct, and what might be revealed in a flower or to an unlettered woman might be hidden from a doctor of divinity. So he speaks of 'this great thing beyond man's power and scarcely to be understood except by those who have learnt it not from any human teacher but directly from God in the sweet experience of love' and says that he regrets that he is not one of these: 'we are not held worthy to experience the greatness of the delights which we desire to know.'⁵ With him it was on earth the broken arc; but before he died the stone was very near the mountain's top, active and aspiring to the end.⁶

¹ *Opera*, ii. 166.

² *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 81.

³ Fragmentary Life of Santa Teresa.

⁴ *Opera*, ii. 43-4, &c. Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 104-5, ii. 222, 235-6, and the simile of heated iron (ib. ii. 129, 209; iii. 189, 240), the cloud bathed in light (ib. ii. 217), the sun and its rays (ib. iii. 47-9); *Exposicion de Job*, xxxvii. 10; *Cantar de Cantares*, iv. 9.

⁵ *Opera*, ii. 39: 'Est enim magna res et plane supra hominis vires et denique hujus modi ut vix possit intelligi nisi ab iis qui eam non tam doctoris acutius voce quam ipsa re et suavi amoris experimento a Deo didicerunt, de quorum numero non esse me et fateor et doleo'; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 233: 'la grandeza destes deleites los que deseamos conocerlos y no merecemos tener su experiencia'; *Opera*, ii. 292: 'ipsi explicant qui perceperunt, si modo tanta res explicari potest ab ullo homine; illud constat hactenus explicasse neminem'; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 219: 'a lo menos cierto es que como ello es y como pasa ninguno jamas lo supo ni pudo decir.' Cf. *Opera*, iv. 86: 'meo iudicio utilior est visio quam unio . . . quamvis unio hypostatica sit melius ac praestantius bonum.'

⁶ Cf. *Opera*, iii. 6: 'mihi nihil meorum satis probatur.'

X

Luis de Leon as Poet

'To carry the feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood, to combine the child's sense of wonder and novelty with the appearances which every day for perhaps forty years has made familiar—this is the character and privilege of genius.'—SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

'Cum poesis nihil aliud sit quam pictura loquens totumque eius studium in imitanda natura versetur.'—LUIS DE LEON.

'Poesía no es sino una comunicacion del aliento celestial y divino.'—LUIS DE LEON.

It has been said of Luis de Leon that he had a Hebrew soul. Perhaps it would be truer to say that he was essentially a poet. His devotion to Hebrew was due largely to the fact that he recognized in the writings of the Old Testament the world's greatest poetry, culminating, as it seemed to him, in *The Song of Songs*. Sublimity, as Coleridge remarked, is Hebrew by birth. The Scriptures, said Luis de Leon, contain not only the science of moral and supernatural doctrine but the seeds of natural philosophy and of all other arts and sciences.¹ He declares that Solomon in the *Song of Songs* far surpassed all writers and poets of any language or country. Its words are vivid and filled with a celestial harmony.² Luis de Leon's admiration for the *Psalms* was almost equally great³ and the commentator of the *Book of Job* had felt to the full its marvellous grandeur and beauty.

¹ *Opera*, i. 294: 'Ex quo intelligimus Sacras Litteras non solum moralis ac supernaturalis doctrinae scientiam includere sed etiam continere semina cum naturalis philosophiae tum reliquarum artium atque scientiarum (v.l. verissima semina omnium disciplinarum).'

² *Opera*, ii. 145: 'Affirmo . . . Salomonem reliquos omnium linguarum atque gentium poetas et oratores omnes tam longe tamque multum superasse'; ii. 297: 'At quam graphice . . . et coelesti dulcedine illita.' Cf. pp. 134, 145, 146, 147: *diserte, aptissime, optime et significantissime, maiore facultate atque vi quam est humana facultas, exquisite*.

³ Cf. *Opera*, i. 161: 'pulcherrimum hoc suum carmen' (Ps. 26), and the preface to his translation of the *Psalms*: 'la sencillez de su fuente y un sabor de antigüedad que en sí tienen, lleno a mi parecer de dulzura y majestad'; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i (1914), p. 248: 'cantando divinamente . . . dulcísimo y elegantísimo Psalmo' (Ps. 103); vol. iii (1922), p. 173: *maravi-*

He frequently quotes Isaiah, although he left no commentary on him. He derived from the Bible his soaring magnificence, his wealth of images and love of simile,¹ and wrote "llevando siempre, como en estrella de guía, puestos los ojos en la luz de la Escritura Santa".² But if Luis de León was essentially a poet and wrote with his eyes fixed on the sources of great poetry, he was not a professional poet. Scarcely anyone then was. To write poems in the vulgar tongue was not considered a very serious occupation, although it might be cultivated by an idle singer of an empty hour.³ Poets abounded, but there was some doubt as to their merits. No one more than El Brocense honoured a true poet, and his admiration for the poetry of Luis de León was deep, but he expressed a poor opinion of the crowd of poets of the day.⁴ Criticism, it is clear, was active. If the school of Salamanca, with Luis de León at its head, was thought to be too careless in style, that of Seville, headed by Herrera, was decried for its obscurity.⁵ Herrera disliked to be called 'the

llosamente (Ps. 109). Of the Book of Job he says that it is a *maravilla rica, maravillosamente bien, con maravillosa viveza, elegantísimamente, &c.*

¹ Cf. *El Cantar de los Cantares*, i. 8: *galanas comparaciones*; ib. ii. 10: 'una gentil comparacion, que en nuestra lengua no se siente'; ii. 14: *una gentil semejanza*; v. 14 ('el cual artificio se guarda en la Escritura Sagrada más que en otra del mundo'); vi. 4: *semejanzas excelentes*; cf. *Opera*, iii. 296; ib. 406 (*nimis apta translatio*: Galatians, vi. 4); vii. 367: 'Magnus est et frequens . . . in divinis litteris . . . similitudinum usus.'

² *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. 1 (1914), p. 195.

³ Cf. Jerónimo de Contreras, *Dechado de varios subjectos, &c.* (Zaragoza, 1572): 'En España y en otros lugares donde he estado he visto muy caída y despreciada la poesía . . . al presente veo que tienen por loco y de baja suerte al que compone coplas castellanas' (ap. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, ii. 564). So Eugenio de Salazar (born in 1530) leaves his *Silva de Poesía* in manuscript to his children: 'temí por causa de mi oficio [of judge] no tuviesen algunos a desautoridad mía publicar e imprimir obras en metro castellano'; and Bernardo Gonzalez de Bobadilla is apologetic about his *Primera Parte de las Ninfas y Pastores de Henares* (Alcalá, 1587): 'yo hubiera procurado no sacalle a la vergüenza, especialmente en este tiempo que ni tal arte florece ni se estima ni los ingenios de los hombres discretos se abaten a cosas tan rateras como la poesía' (ap. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iii. 86 ad fin.). Cf. Cervantes's preface to his *Galatea* (1585).

⁴ For a long list of poets at Salamanca (*fiestas* of 1578) see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, ii. 274-5.

⁵ Cf. Jerónimo Gomez de Huerta, *Florando de Castilla* (Alcalá, 1588), *Prólogo* (Bib. Aut. Esp. t. xxxvi), p. 226: 'aunque en este tiempo florecen tan buenos ingenios, tan perfectos entendimientos y tan extremados poetas, cuyas obras resplandecen más que doradas plumas, llegando a los oídos de estos [*the critics*] dicen del uno que tiene el verso baxo y del otro que le tiene oscuro'; in fact, as Luis de León says, *mal juicios desvariados*.

poet', and wished to be known as the author of a universal history,¹ and although Luis de Leon held a very high view of poetry's importance² he professed that, as with the poet in *Timon of Athens*, his poems 'slipped idly from me' in extreme youth;³ they were not written for publication, and they were not published until forty years after his death. As it can be proved that several of his poems were written when he was over forty and even when he was over fifty, this must be taken to refer to some of his translations, which occasionally show signs of immaturity, as when he mistakes the verb *salis* for the noun.⁴ We know too that Luis de Leon constantly revised the text of his poems.⁵ The most interesting part of this passage is the assertion that the poems were written 'in the midst of my studies', as a breathing space in other work. They were thus a culminating moment, the effortless result of previous thought and labour. Lasting literature, he says elsewhere, must always come from the very soul, and be a very slow and careful growth.⁶

Before or at the same time as the influence of the Hebrew poets came that of Greece and Rome, especially Virgil and Horace, and that of the Castilian Virgil, the new music of Garci Lasso de la Vega. The publication of his poems in 1543 must have exercised a decisive influence on Luis de Leon's genius. One hopes that they did not occupy too much of the time of the Augustinian novice, but henceforth he was won for the Italian school. It was Garci Lasso too who provided him with his favourite lyric metre, the *lira*, borrowed by Garci Lasso from Bernardo Tasso :

¹ See A. Coster, *Fernando de Herrera*, Paris, 1908, p. 268.

² *Poesías*, dedication to Portocarrero: 'No porque la poesía, mayormente si se emplea en argumentos debidos, no sea digna de cualquier persona y de cualquier hombre.' He frequently refers to 'the poets' and their versification as if he were not one of them.

³ *Ibid.*: 'Entre las ocupaciones de mis estudios en mi mocedad y casi en mi niñez se me cayeron de entre las manos estas obrecillas . . . ni gasté en ello más tiempo del que tomaba para olvidarme de otros trabajos, ni puse en ello más estudio del que merecía lo que nacía para nunca salir a luz.'

⁴ See J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Fray Luis de Leon* (1921), pp. 215, 217.

⁵ See Federico de Onís, *Sobre la transmisión de la obra literaria de Fray Luis de León*, in *Revista de Filología Española*, vol. ii (1915), pp. 217-257.

⁶ *Exposición de Job*, viii. 10: 'las escrituras que por los siglos duran nunca las dicta la boca, del alma salen, adonde por muchos años las compone y examina la verdad y el cuidado.'

Sintió allí convertirse
 En piedad amorosa el aspereza.
 O tarde arrepentirse,
 O última terneza,
 ¿Cómo te sucedió mayor dureza? ¹

Possibly most readers would attribute that to Luis de Leon. The latter's famous ode to the 'life removed' was probably one of his earlier compositions, and its opening verses are clearly derived from the passage in which Garci Lasso in his second eclogue imitates Horace's *Beatus ille*.² But Luis de Leon was not content to imitate Horace through Garci Lasso; he went to the original, and Garci Lasso's softness was corrected and invigorated by the terse felicity of the Latin poet. Luis de Leon was one of his most successful translators; the spirit of their cult of the golden mean was poles apart, but the influence of Horace on his versification was nevertheless great. If Virgil was the supreme poet, *summus poeta*,³ Horace was also a favourite. He had many copies of both poets in his cell, and he constantly quotes from both in his Latin and in his Spanish works. There were many other influences. He was well acquainted with all the classics then known, and study of the Greek poets brought a luminous purity into his verse:

la vela inclina
 que del viento huyendo
 por los mares camina,
 Ulysses, de los Griegos luz divina.

Of older Spanish poets he quotes Ausías March and Gómez Manrique.⁴ With Aeschylus, Dante, Chaucer, and Ronsard he appears to have been unacquainted. Unlike Marquez, who refers

¹ Garcilaso, *Obras* (1911), pp. 202-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 30: Cuan buenaventurado
 Aquel puede llamarse
 Que con la dulce soledad se abraza
 Y vive descuidado, &c.

³ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i (1914), p. 129: 'el poeta latino que en todo lo que dixo venció a los demás.' Horace is Sabino's poet, but so is Virgil (*De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 143; iii. 54).

⁴ He refers also to *mil cantarcicos, varios cantares*, mentions serenades and the custom *dar alboradas*, quotes old Spanish proverbs (e. g. *Opera*, v. 249: 'la ida del cuervo'; *Opera*, vi. 189: 'quien bien quiere a Juan bien quiere a su can'; *Opera*, vi. 275: 'un padre para cien hijos y no cien hijos para un

to Bodin and Commynes, and Vives, who refers to Froissart, he makes no mention of French literature, and does not appear even to have gone to the extent of Fray Francisco Ortiz in studying early English history. Of the Italians he translated from Petrarca (1304-74) and Giovanni della Casa (1503-56) and Cardinal Bembo (1470-1547). He appears to have learnt Italian late, and Petrarca the humanist perhaps influenced him more than Petrarca the Italian poet. When he sent for the *Prose di Bembo* in prison in 1574 it was not in order to solace himself by reading Italian but to consider Bembo's arguments on the use of the vulgar tongue before writing *De los Nombres de Cristo*. Had he known Dante¹ he would surely have expressed his admiration for the greatest poet since Homer. Unfortunately Bembo placed Dante below Petrarca, and this would be decisive, for Bembo was an authority not to be rejected and Luis de Leon's time was precious. There is more reason to believe that he was acquainted with and influenced by the poetry of Camões. The Portuguese origin of the Villenas, the reputation in Portugal of his relative Luis de Montoya, the relations of El Brocense with Portugal, were three connecting links; and there is a resemblance between Camões's famous autobiographical *Canção (Vinde cá)* and Luis de Leon's *Del conocimiento de si mismo*. (It was an Augustinian friar who wrote one of the 1580 Spanish versions of *Os Lusíadas*.) But many and various as are the influences traceable in Luis de Leon's poetry, successful imitation is not the secret of its excellence. That must be sought in his sincerity, in the vigorous penetration of his intellect, which could not rest content with empty forms, however smooth and lovely, in the Platonic and neo-Platonic philosophy which permeated his work, prose and poetry alike, with a light and intensity by which it joins hands with the poetry of Camões and with the poetry of Wordsworth. Sublime thought was wedded to simplicity of expression, in the conviction that common things described in common words

padre'; *Exp. de Job*, iii. 23: 'a buen bocado buen grito'; cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 575: 'la casa hecha y el huerto [muerto?] a la puerta'), willingly interpolates Spanish phrases in his Latin lectures, and uses archaic Spanish in his translations of the Bible.

¹ Yet good Castilian and Catalan versions of Dante had appeared before Luis de Leon was born.

might have a heavenly significance, seen not as they commonly appear to men's dulled senses, not as mere forms which, as Plato taught, are but more or less imperfect expressions of the ideal Beauty, but as they exist *sub specie aeternitatis*, with that ideal shining through them. Thus an eternal moment, the solitary reaper, the music of Salinas, the Ascension, the Berber invasion of Spain, a night of stars, a storm, autumn, are crystallized and become a permanent possession of humanity. It needs heaven-sent moments for such skill. Luis de Leon's impressions of common things seemed to remain perpetually fresh. He was never tired of admiring the wonder and beauty of the Universe even when he wished to pierce beyond its surface. The visible world never ceased to exist for him. He has been accused of having no imagination, but that is a mistake: rather one would say that he possessed that fervent Castilian imagination which pierces to the unseen and, even as it unveils new mysteries, coins them into concrete images. It requires imagination, too, to see something new in the appearances of every day. Light as it came and went¹, the greenness of the grass and of the leaves,² the glowing stars,³ the wonder of ice,⁴ the marvel of the clouds,⁵ of the sea,⁶ the miracle of the rain,⁷ the *sol luciente*,⁸ never ceased to excite his curiosity and wonder: commonplaces if you will, but such as furnish continual subject for thought and wonder to the genius of a Blake and require scientific knowledge to understand,⁹ and are voices, witnesses of Nature, providing as it were

¹ *Exposicion de Job*, xi. 17 ad fin.

² *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 128; ii. 12 and 72: 'el verdor de las yervas'; 'la yerba verde'; 'verde hoja.'

³ *Opera*, ii. 50: 'stellarum lucentes globos.'

⁴ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxviii. 30: 'que el hielo es agua dura como piedra. Y no es poca maravilla ver en cosa tan blanda como el agua es tanta y tan presta dureza.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxvii. 16: 'no nos maravilla por ser muy ordinario y es ello en sí muy maravilloso.'

⁶ *Ibid.*, xxxviii. 8: 'quebrar tanta furia en un poco de arena a la orilla.' Cf. his significant expression 'las tendidas mares.'

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 10: 'porque aunque la costumbre quita la maravilla, pero es sin duda maravillosísima obra la del llover, si se considera como conviene.' Cf. xiv. 12; xxvi. 8; xxviii. 27; xxxvii. 6.

⁸ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 67: 'esta fuente de claridad y de luz que todo lo alumbra, redonda y bellísima.'

⁹ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxvii. 16: 'no las entiende sino quien mucho sabe y es perfecto en la ciencia.'

a sixth sense by which the days become more fair in Spring and the sunlight lovelier,¹ so that the eyes are never tired of gazing.² No one, says Luis de Leon, raises his eyes to the starry heavens on a cloudless night without praising God silently or aloud.³ Love of Nature was not dead in the Middle Ages, the monks sought out fair prospects when they founded their convents, as Alfonso X did for his colleges; but this ecstasy and its expression were new. Luis de Leon brought to Spanish poetry a personal subjective note and a more intimate love of Nature, more intimate even than it appears in Arias Montano and Garci Lasso and Fray Luis de Granada. The stars speak to him or listen, they throb and glow in the *noche serena*, a resplendent host (*exercito resplandeciente*) in which none usurps the place of its neighbour;⁴ he speaks of their *alegría*; the moon, too, is made human and looks round her with delight when the heavens are bare, clustered about by all her starry fays;⁵ the air receives the poet's *gemidos*; the quiet, uniform winter clouds have for him a different look from the dark sudden stormclouds of summer; the lightning is like a writhing snake,⁶ the sound of running water grows louder at night,⁷ the streamlet laughs, and when the sun sets and a gentle wind arises the shadows, which at midday stood motionless, now increase with a perceptible motion and seem to flee.⁸

¹ *Opera*, ii. 52: 'Has igitur voces et tanquam testimonia naturae . . . ex universi inspectione eum sensum percipiunt qui omnium suavissimus est sensus maximeque naturalis. Iis namque vere candidi dies fluunt, iis soles melius nitent.'

² *Panegyricus* (*Opera*, vii. 368): 'Ex quo existit ille mundi totius plenus admirabilitate concentus quem qui, animo ab aliis curis vacuo, cum in coelum suspexerint, indeque ad terram dejecerint oculos collustrarintque omnia circumcirca, vident semel atque sensibus hauriunt homines, eam animo capiunt voluptatem at satiari nunquam queant.' Perhaps this passage helps to fix the date of the *Noche Serena*.

³ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxv. 10: 'Nadie alza los ojos en una noche serena y ve el cielo estrellado que no alabe luego a Dios, o con la boca o dentro de sí con el espíritu'; *Opera*, ii. 50: 'nisi simus plane stupidi accendunt amore Dei.'

⁴ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 65, 68. Cf. *Exp. de Job*, xxxviii. 32; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 134: 'no usurpa ninguna [estrella] el lugar de su vecina.'

⁵ *La Perfecta Casada*, introd.: 'Y como la luna llena en las noches serenas se goza rodeada y como acompañada de clarísimas lumbres, las cuales todas parece que avivan sus luces en ella y la remiran y reverencian.' Cf. *Exp. de Job*, xxxi. 26: 'la luna en las noches llenas y serenas.'

⁶ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxvi. 29, 30.

⁷ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 68-9.

⁸ *Cantar de Cantares*, ii. 17.

He loves to watch the doves,¹ to see the kids bound as to the tabor's sound,² to listen to the birds at dawn 'con nueva y más suave melodía':

Me may the birds awake
With their sweet unpremeditated song.

His love of birds is delightful.³ He knows their favourite nesting-place,⁴ he observes that young crows are soon left to procure their own food,⁵ the fair painted peacock's feathers are a joy to the eyes. He watches the slow cranes in autumn,⁶ he welcomes the melody of the little birds, the *avecillas*, *paxarillos*, and in a beautiful passage, which one may compare with *The Green Linnet* of Wordsworth, rejoices in the lively motion of their wings and ceaseless flutterings.⁷ Not less keen in his love of flowers, here too we have the result of close observation and a characteristic preference for flowers in action or becoming: rosebuds, roses flowering among thorns, carnations opening, an apple-tree in blossom or with reddening apples: there can be no fairer sight.⁸ All this may seem a very Latin love of Nature, of gardens and country life and pleasant prospects, 'la hermosura del campo,' 'la vida rústica':

Me iuvat in viridi praedulcem gramine somnum
Carpere et ad murmur transilientis aquae.

Its inspiration often appears to be literary, supplemented by personal knowledge. But if his descriptions of Dawn and Night and Spring and Evening are celebrated,⁹ he loves also to describe

¹ Ibid. i. 14; ii. 14; iv. 1. Cf. *Opera*, ii. 154-5, 285; i. 243.

² *Cantar de Cantares*, iv. 5. Cf. *Opera*, ii. 236.

³ But it is sad to find him saying that 'small birds, tied by a string, are given to children to play with' (*Exp. de Job*, xl. 24).

⁴ In *Canticum Canticorum* (*Opera*, ii. 94): 'in patula et frondibus plena arbore aviculae nidari solent.'

⁵ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxix. 3. Cf. *La Perf. Cas.* § xviii.

⁶ 'Ya el ave vengadora Del Ibico navega los nublados' (*Recoge ya*).

⁷ 'Las parleruelas aves una acordada música hacían' etc. (*A la Vida Religiosa*).

⁸ Cf. *Cantar de los Cantares*, ii. 9: 'como suelen los claveles asomar por los agujeros pequeños de los encañados que los cercan o de las vainas que rompen cuando brotan.' Cf. *Opera*, i. 152: 'Num ut flores, cum primo erumpunt, laetiores et nitidiores nobis videntur'; ii. 142: 'Et certe multum amoenitatis habet malus arbor . . . nihil ad aspectum pulchrius fieri potest'; i. 141: 'horrore illo illustratur rosarum nitor.'

⁹ Cf. *Opera*, ii. 153-4, 323; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 133-6; ib. i. 128-31 (the shepherd's life); *La Perfecta Casada*, § vii; *Exposicion de Job*, xxxv, 10.

a storm and takes it not merely from the pages of Virgil but direct from Nature.¹ His poetry is not exclusively idyllic and Virgilian. His thought 'sees into the life of things', soars through the infinite spaces, communes with the stars and with their reflection in the river, in waters stilled at even, pierces to the dwelling of the snow, embraces the sea and lofty mountains :

sierra que vas al cielo, Altísima.

'¡O campo, O monte, O rio!' he exclaims three centuries before Wordsworth. We have no proof that he had ever seen the sea, which he mentions so frequently in his prose and verse;² at most he might have had a glimpse of the Mediterranean from near Seville or Granada; but clearly he could appreciate something at least of the grandeur of mountain heights³ or of a tempestuous sea, despite his love of harmony and proportion. He in fact required some strangeness in proportion. What were his 'ideas estéticas'? To him, as to Plato, all the various and splendid beauty of earthly objects was but a pale copy of celestial ideal beauty;⁴ but it is none the less vivid and magnificent. Beauty naturally attracts.⁵ He demands, however, in beauty something more than perfection of form. It must always have a touch of

¹ Cf. his commentary on Ps. xli. 7, and his poem *Cuando será que pueda*, &c.

² With the discovery of the New World the sea crept into literature in constant allusions and metaphors. Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 32. 'coge las velas del entendimiento y las inclina;' ib. i. 104: 'se me descubren nuevos mares cuanto más navego.'

³ Love of mountains came by contrast: the Middle Ages, with their fierce light and shadows, were too much like a mountain themselves; ancient civilization was too insecure, that of the Renaissance perhaps too recent; but men were beginning to crowd into cities, and with Garci Lasso, Luis de Granada, Arias Montano and Luis de Leon we see the love of mountains asserting itself. Luis de Leon refers to the Sierra Nevada as 'la alta sierra' in one of his poems. Mount Carmel is *altissimus, feracissimus et amoenissimus* (*Opera*, ii. 402); the high mountain-top stands above the clouds (*De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 168); mountains give birth to rivers and metals and precious stones (ib. p. 166); he describes the peaks of a mountain-range (ib. pp. 184-5). There can be no doubt that mountains interested and attracted him.

The craggy heights of Monserrate could inspire Guevara with a love of solitude; perhaps, however, as a penance. Sepúlveda saw no beauty in the mountain snows when obliged to cross them in early spring.

⁴ Cf. *In Canticum Canticorum*, *Opera*, ii. 147: 'tanquam umbra quaedam pulchri quam ipsum veri pulchri veluti corpus in terras jacit.'

⁵ Ibid., p. 387: 'nam naturale est ut pulchri species in quocumque cernens ad se alliciat tuentes.'

spirit, of *gracia*.¹ If asked to define beauty he would probably have answered that it was truth and keenness, or perfection of form in motion. Is not cleanliness, he says, the fountain-head of beauty, its first and foremost part? Not that he neglects excellence of proportion: 'Beauty consists in two things, well-proportioned features and cleanliness'; again, 'It is certain that beauty consists not so much in exquisite colour as in well-formed and well-proportioned features . . . Some women of good features are beautiful although their complexion is dark, perhaps more beautiful than those whose complexion is fair . . . But I grant you that good colour is of great value. All these things have a natural measure and proportion, deficiency or excess in which means ugliness.'² In these passages he is describing the beauty of women. He considers it to consist very largely in the eyes and hair: he would have the lips thin and the cheeks faintly suffused with colour, as of a pomegranate out of its shell; he is careful to add that he is but quoting the learned and speaking of what the world calls beauty.³ The eyes should be large and serene, with a certain *divina gravitas*, the body not only well-proportioned but of goodly size and noble bearing.⁴ But all this is but a part of the true spiritual beauty, for it is the soul which makes beauty live, while external beauty of form may be a mere whited sepulchre.⁵ Coming to poetry, he says, with Simonides and Horace, that it is a picture in words (Sigüenza makes

¹ C. *Cantar de Cantares*, i. 15: 'gracioso y salado más que la gracia'; 'porque esta parte de la hermosura del ánima se llama gracia y se muestra de fuera y se da a entender en los movimientos de la misma ánima, como son mirar, hablar, reir, cantar, andar' (ibid.); so he would have 'buena y graciosa proporción de las facciones', *gentileza* as well as *hermosura* (ib. iv. 3 and 4), *decor*, *venustas*: 'non in partium figura modo sed in motu', 'qui carent, inconcinni, inepti, insulsi', 'pulchritudo ea quae ex membrorum apta figura existit nisi hac concinnitate conditur plane insulsa est' (*Opera*, ii. 38). A word he uses frequently is *elegans*, the corresponding Spanish word being not *elegante* but *gentil*. He uses it of a Psalm, an ode of Horace, a woman, a horse, &c., &c. With El Brocense similarly the word *elegans* is frequent. The very different meaning of the Spanish *elegante* is seen when Cabrera (iv. 128) speaks of the 'versos tersos, elegantes aunque no poéticos' of *La Araucana*.

² *La Perfecta Casada*, §§ xi. and xx. Cf. *Opera*, ii. 38, i. 74. One of the passages in Carranza's *Commentario* to which Cano took exception was that beauty consists in good proportion and has no need of colour.

³ *Cantar de Cantares*, iv. 1: 'como dicen los sabios', 'como se dicen ser los ojos hermosos matadores y alevosos,' 'San Pablo confiesa' &c.

⁴ *Opera*, ii. 235, 384, 385.

⁵ Cf. *Opera*, ii. 2

the same claim for history). It imitates Nature and as it were teaches her to speak and brings nothing to the subject presented to it except apt and suitable words, which answer to the colours of the painter. The best poetry, as that of the *Song of Songs*, supplies not only words but action, so vivid is its painting,¹ and makes frequent use of metaphor and simile. In Luis de Leon's greatest lyrics there is scarcely any mention of colour: they quiver in a white intensity. In describing minutely in prose the beauty of La Flecha in summer he does not mention colour, although the most arresting feature of its beauty in midsummer is its symphony of blues and greens, the sky, the heavenly blue curve of the river Tormes, the green and grey-green of willow, alder, and poplar. It would be a mistake to infer that Luis de Leon had no eye for colour. He held with the classics that it was not for the poet to go into details: enough to speak of the pied daisy without describing it as pink and white and red and yellow and green. We know that his pleasure in colour was exceptionally keen. In his prose works he speaks of the crimson which illuminators lay over gold and silver, of the milk-white colour of doves, the reddish hue of jacinths or sapphires, the whiteness of ivory, the colour of wine, the many colours of men's hair,² and in describing a storm in summer notes the rust-coloured appearance of the clouds, the colour of the sky 'between brown and yellow', and the yellow tint on all things.³ Evidently his senses delighted in beautiful colour.⁴ But in writing poetry he would merge these details of observation, concentrate them in one of those pregnant epithets or energetic phrases of which he is

¹ *Opera*, ii. 144, 145.

² Cf. *Opera*, ii. 232: 'flavus, niger aut ex purpureo rubroque mixtus'; *Cantar de Cantares*, vii. 5: 'rojo, rubio, negro, castaño, alheñado.' He himself preferred a man of white complexion to have black hair: 'al rostro de un hombre muy blanco mejor le estan los cabellos y barba negra que los rubios por ser colores contrarios, que el uno da luz al otro' (ib. v. 12).

³ *Exposicion de Job*, iii. 4.

⁴ *Opera*, i. 303: 'capuntur enim colore venusto'; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 72: 'matiza con mil graciosos colores sus plumas al paxaro.' No shade of colour escaped him. Cf. *Cantar de Cantares*, vii. 5: 'el color castaño y otros que se le parecen, son sus luces rojas, así como las luces del amarillo tiran a blanco y las del verde a negro'; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 97: 'aquel color que se tiñe de colorado y de blanco.' All this inclines one to accept Pacheco's statement that Luis de Leon was a painter. It was one of the joys of dawn that 'rebus suis color incipit reddi' (*Opera*, ii. 323).

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a master. The apparent simplicity of Luis de Leon's lyrics is not easily achieved. It is the simplicity of the diamond. Their whiteness is not the whiteness of snow or lily, it is a white heat. They appear passionless, but are the result of 'batallas interiores', patient study, and curious observation. First we find Luis de Leon reading everything, noting the minute details of Nature and art, plunging both hands into the treasures of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin poetry; then we see him reproducing his ever-fresh impressions in descriptions in prose and verse, striving to make poetry indeed a living picture; finally, with an added intensity, he translates the description of Nature to a higher plane, into a 'light that never was on sea or land', a light so intense that colour almost vanishes, and only the boldest lines of the picture survive, trembling amid the music of the 'tuned spheres'.

'No sólo el semblante del cielo tiene un oscuro triste mas tambien las nubes que le enraman están como teñidas de herrumbre y el aire se colora de entre pardo y amarillo y todo lo que por su medio se mira parece tambien amarillo.'

Here we see him gathering the materials, the dry sticks of his art. Compare this with his finished picture of Autumn, probably of Autumn in the glowing splendour of the orchard at La Flecha:

Recoge ya en el seno
El campo su hermosura, el cielo aoja
Con luz triste el ameno
Verdor, y hoja a hoja
Las cimas de los árboles despoja.¹

Here, beyond a reference to fading green, there is no explicit mention of colour; yet it makes itself felt, it pervades the verse, and fills the last two lines with the many-hued magnificence of autumn leaves. If we turn from this full, earthly picture to the last stanza of the *Noche Serena*, we find colour and details sublimated, mystically lost in light from the Light of Light; but they are present as the ghost of a coal is present when it

¹ Compare this beautiful poem with Meredith's *Autumn Even-Song*. But with Meredith the sticks are only partially ablaze.

burns in a white heat, so that the impression is not of thinness but of intensity :

¡ O campos verdaderos !
 ¡ O prados con verdad frescos y amenos !
 ¡ Riquísimos mineros !
 ¡ O deleitosos senos !
 ¡ Repuestos valles de mil bienes llenos !

No icicles here, but mellow, mystic, glowing wine pressed from a myriad grapes. It is transparent and has no dregs, but Luis de Leon's thought is not the less profound for that. In his theory of poetry, which was indeed as old as Aristotle (to express sublime thought in simple language, simple, sensuous, impassioned), in his practice, in the heights and inequality of his verse, in its Platonic atmosphere, the modern poet he most resembles is Wordsworth ; but there is another English poet to whom he might perhaps have borne an even closer resemblance had he devoted his life to poetry. Spain would then have had her Milton : in his loftiness, classical allusions, love of light,¹ as in his fierce denunciations, and acceptance of terrible dogmas, the great Catholic poet resembles the Puritan.

It has been said that Luis de Leon's poetry lacks variety of theme, but the complaint scarcely bears examination. He did not write a long series of sonnets in imitation of the Italian, but his subjects are many, his allusions, contemporary and classical, frequent, and the Christian spirit of his poetry does not prevent it from bearing that hall-mark of the Renaissance, the combination of scientific curiosity with artistic instinct. His religious conception of poetry did not narrow its scope any more than Valles in his *Philosophia Sacra*, while commenting on the Bible, was debarred from writing a handbook of the science of the day. Only Luis de Leon substituted for the ideal love platonically sung by Petrarchan imitators the equally unattainable but more fruitful idea of the beauty and mystery of the Universe, which, indeed, became in his hands something more personal than the Nise and Chloe of contemporary poets. It was a theme worthy to employ all the thought and love and suffering of a spirit reborn in the Renaissance. It became its mission to recreate the external world for

¹ Cf. *Opera*, ii. 353 : ' Luce autem quid non dico dulcius, &c.'

the soul in the light of a new psychology and sensibility, to transform, in a freshly awakened curiosity and love of beauty, the common things, rain, a leaf, a cloud, into miracles that revealed the glory and presence of God, *vestigia Dei*. Some critics have been inclined to deny that Luis de Leon was greatly influenced by Plato, but, as Coleridge said, 'every man is born an Aristotelian or a Platonist.' Luis de Leon was born a Platonist, and one must look for Platonism less in any particular passage of his works than in the whole. One might even say that every age is Aristotelian or Platonist. Platonism may be described as an imaginative inquiry, a voyage of discovery in the human soul, an adventure of the mind aware of infinite new possibilities to be realized by observation and induction. It is thus strengthened eventually by any great external addition to knowledge won by the material, as opposed to the spiritual, voyage of inquiry through which human judgement has been shocked and suspended, as by the discovery of a New World, great scientific progress, or the development of the art of flying, whereas an age which is more stationary is favourable to the systematic cataloguing and analysis of Aristotelianism. Hence perhaps the galaxies of original genius which history shows following in the wake of great upheavals and representing the human intellect recovering its preeminence in reaction to a great advance of the external world. Luis de Leon was born a generation after the discovery of America, and the whole world seemed new to him, a world of a myriad facets, bathed in celestial beauty, filled with new problems challenging the mind to endless speculations. His desire that poetry should be confined to sacred subjects¹ would exclude scarcely anything: was not all love described in the *Song of Songs*, and were not all the marvels of the Universe presented in other books of the Old Testament? Thus he himself in his lyrics alludes to the voyages of the Portuguese ('la vela portu-

¹ 'en quien solo a mi juicio se emplea la poesia como se debe' (*De los Nombres de Cristo*, I. 175). Profane poets, or rather those who employed poetry 'en argumentos de liviandad', were to be punished 'como públicos corrompedores' (ib. p. 176). He wished sacred poetry to become popular, to be sung in the streets. But, like Plato, although he might decry profane poetry, he could not resist its fascination: 'llevado de la golosina del verso'; '... enmeladas con el sonido dulce y artificioso del verso.'

guesa'), German artillery ('la bola tudesca'),¹ Moorish architecture, the precious stones of Ormuz and Persia, the spices of the Moluccas, the battles of Pavia and Alcacer-Kebir, the Cid, the Moorish conquest of Spain, the Galicians, deaths of princes, apart from numerous scientific questionings and classical allusions. It is not difficult to date some of his poems, at least roughly. One of the earliest is the most famous, that entitled *Vida Retirada* or *Vida Solitaria*, beginning *Qué descansada vida* and composed, according to the heading in one of the manuscripts, on the occasion of the retirement of the Emperor to Yuste in 1557, when Luis de Leon was thirty. Whether this was the occasion or not, it is clear that the poem was based on Horace's *Beatus ille* through the passage in Garci Lasso's eclogue, and that the poem was frequently revised and added to. Its scenery may combine that of Yuste, La Flecha and Pozoblanco, so attractively described in one of Sepúlveda's Latin letters published at Salamanca in 1557. To about the same time may perhaps be assigned the long poem beginning *Cuando la noche oscura* (some of its descriptions resemble those of Sepúlveda's letter even more closely), as also the Ode to Santiago (*Las selvas conmoviera*), since this poem, with its more diffuse treatment of the subject of the *Profecía del Tajo*, is unlikely to have been composed after it, and the probable date of the *Profecía* is 1558. This is one of Luis de Leon's acknowledged masterpieces and in its energy² and maturity may well have been composed when he was thirty, but scarcely earlier. Two of the poems addressed to Portocarrero were written between 1571 and 1580 when he was Governor of Galicia; a third, *La calva y alta cumbre*, is dated by the Poqueira fighting (1569). The incomparable *El aire se serena* was written after 1567, when Salinas became known to him, and probably after his imprisonment, perhaps in 1577 or even later;³ as were the Ode to Autumn addressed to Grial (autumn of 1577?), the Ode to Ruiz, *Qué vale cuanto vee*, with its

¹ So in his translations he introduces *los Guipuzcoanos, la flauta alemana (querulae tibiae)*.

² One may compare its energetic simplicity with the commonplaces of Francisco de Medrano's poem on the same subject, *Profecía del Tajo en la pérdida de España* (e. g. 'moviendo envidia al cielo de su adorada fiera').

³ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 136 ('su primer origen').

reference to the Horatian *ab ipso ferro*, the ode beginning *O ya seguro puerto* (1577?), *Aquí la envidia y mentira* (1576), the ode 'Del mundo y su vanidad' (end of 1578?),¹ and probably the Ode to the Ascension (*Y dejas, Pastor Santo*), which appears to have been suggested by a picture. To his prison years 1572-6 must be assigned the splendid Ode to the Virgin (*Virgen que el sol más pura*), *Huid contentos de mi triste pecho*, and 'A todos los santos'.

If the epitaph on Prince Carlos was written for Philip's son and not for a greater Charles, it must be dated 1568. The reference to his valour would not be unique: Juan Martín Cordero as early as 1558 speaks of the 'señales grandes de su valor'. About the same time was perhaps written the ode 'A la vida religiosa'. The very fine autobiographical *canción* beginning *En el profundo del abismo estaba* would have to be placed in 1553 or 1554 if we take the 'ten years' of the last line literally, but perhaps we may allow for a poet's licence and place it a good deal later: it certainly does not seem the work of a very young man, and one would like to think that its author had read the similar ode of Camões. Three of Luis de Leon's noblest lyrics, *Alma region luciente*, the 'Noche Serena' (*Cuando contemplo el cielo*), and *Cuando será que pueda*, bear no indications of their date, but the maturity of these poems and certain resemblances to passages in his prose works² would favour a late date (1576-80); we know that Felipe Ruiz, to whom the last poem was addressed, was alive in 1587, and he was probably a very old friend, so that twenty years might separate this lyric from the short poem addressed to the same friend and beginning *En vano el mar fatiga*. Olarte, to whom was addressed the 'Noche Serena', Luis de Leon

¹ Reference to Alcacer-Kebir (August 1578) and to the deaths of princes (Sebastian, Queen Caterina (January), Prince Fernando (October 18), Prince Venceslao (September 22), Don Juan de Austria (October 11)).

² Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 135, 136 (the *Pastor* chapter is later than 1583); ii. 134; *Opera*, ii. 465 (*coeli lacta palatia*); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 249: 'en ellas [las nubes] como en caballos discurre [Dios] volando sobre los aires,' etc.; ib. i. 167 'el pastor y el pasto'; *Opera*, i. 295 and vii. 368 ('cum in coelum suspexerint indeque ad terram dejecerint oculos'). M. Adolphe Coster (*Revue Hispanique*, t. liii, p. 152) is inclined to think that Luis de Leon delivered this Panegyric on St. Augustine in August 1562; *Opera*, i. 137-8 'de altissimo et maxime splendido loco coeli . . . causas nimirum omnium rerum,' &c. *In Psalmum xxvi* (1575).

had known since 1559. The date of 'Las Sirenas a Cherinto' is doubtful, nor have we any indication as to whom 'Cherinto' represents. The ode on the birth of Tomasina, daughter of the Marqués de Alcañices, Don Alvaro de Borja, and Doña Elvira Enriquez, must have been written about the year 1570,¹ perhaps at the suggestion of Fray Pedro de Rojas.

The metres used by Luis de Leon are as various as the themes of his poetry, although this has been obscured by the fact that his most famous poems are written in the *lira* which he borrowed from Garci Lasso and which seems to combine the vigour of the old style with the melody of the new, so that these lyrics are, in the words of Nicolás Antonio, 'virili robore simul ac suavitate plena'.² Critics have often, from the sixteenth century onwards, spoken of the 'tosco desaliño' of some of his verse, but usually he succeeds in his bold simplicity. The use of words such as *jabonadas* and *legumbres* shows that he did not shun the commonest forms, and some of his *enjambements* and inversions are such as one might expect from Ruben Darío rather than from a classic of the sixteenth century.³ But it is as a translator that one sees especially that his concern was not with form primarily but with the truest, most intense and energetic expression of thought.⁴ It is possible to point out scores of errors in his translations, and many of them were no doubt made in extreme youth; nevertheless he holds his own among the best translators of Horace, of Virgil, and of Pindar.⁵ His version of the first Olympian ode is a noble poem:

¹ See A. Coster, *Notes pour une édition des poésies de Luis de Leon*, in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xlv, p. 216.

² The lines 'La soberbia y locura de su bisoña gente Desbaratada miserablemente' are as expressive and impressive as Herrera's longer metre on the same theme (the defeat of Alcacer-Kebir).

³ Cf. 'miserable[mente]; y desama | te ya' (trans. of Hor. Od. iv. 13); 'el oro tiene tanta | fuerza.' (Arias Montano in a Latin poem has Anti[Christus, Luis Barahona de Soto has la | quijada]; aquel imperio fiero en mi de Galatea; con fuego tocados celestial &c., &c.

⁴ His verse translations include many psalms (some of them in two renderings) in many various metres, odes of Horace, the Eclogues of Virgil in *tercetos* (i. iii, iv, v, ix) and *octavas* (ii. vi, vii, viii, x), the Book of Job in *tercetos*, the last chapter of Proverbs, Book I and part of Book II of Virgil's Georgics (*octavas*), fragments of Seneca and Euripides, an elegy (ii. 3) of Tibullus, the first *Olympian* of Pindar.

⁵ Cf. *con simple aseos* (*simplex munditiis*); on the other hand we should have

El agua es bien precioso
 Y entre el rico tesoro
 Como el ardiente fuego en noche oscura
 Ansi relumbra el oro....

As a translator of the sacred Hebrew poetry he stands supreme. It would perhaps be difficult to find anywhere a version of a psalm more magnificent than that of Ps. 103, beginning

¡ Alaba, O alma, a Dios! Señor, tu alteza
 ¿ Qué lengua hay que la cuente?
 Vestido estás de gloria y de belleza
 Y luz resplandeciente.
 Encima de los cielos desplegados
 Al agua diste asiento,
 Las nubes son tu carro, tus alados
 Caballos son el viento.

Those lines alone would suffice for the lasting reputation of a poet, and it is the same splendid concentration which gives us finished pictures in a few energetic lines throughout his poems. Luis de Leon was certainly known as a poet in his lifetime outside the walls of his convent. In 1571 Don Juan Manuel, Bishop of Zamora, was told that a poem about him had been written by Fray Luis.¹ The poem *Qué descansada vida* must have been widely read in manuscript.² El Brocense, who was a fastidious judge of poetry, thought very highly of that of Luis de Leon, and it was he, we may be sure, who towards the end of his life drew the attention of his young friend Sarmiento de Mendoza to these poems, hoping perhaps to distract his attention from a too early inroad into theology.³ The *Vergel de Flores Divinas* of Juan Lopez de Ubeda (Alcalá, 1582) is disappointing [ff. 113,

expected him to find a more significant word than *hermosas* for *Cyclades nilentes*.

¹ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 264-5.

² The first verse is quoted in Sabuco de Nantes, *Coloquio de la Naturaleza del Hombre* (1587), ed. *Obras*, 1888, p. 119. The first four editions are dated 1587, 1588, 1620, 1728.

³ Cf. *Francisci Sanctii . . . Opera Omnia*, ii. 519. Antonio, not Francisco, Sarmiento de Mendoza was Rector of Salamanca in the year 1592. For a list of the Rectors see Vidal, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-82; Getino, *El Maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria*, pp. 252-56; and F. de Onís, *Relación nominal de los Rectores de esta Universidad*, Salamanca, 1878.

159], and in his *Primera Parte de las Flores de Poetas Ilustres de España* (Valladolid, 1605), addressed to the Duke of Bejar, Pedro Espinosa published but two poems;¹ two years later Cristóbal de Mesa in his *Restauracion de España* (Madrid, 1607) praises him, evidently as a poet:

De los de la corona de Castilla
Al Maestro Fr. Luis de Leon celebros
Y a D. Alonso el ínclito de Ercilla.²

Luis de Leon's intimate friends were poets and lovers of poetry, and Arias Montano achieved excellence both in Latin and Spanish verse. Luis de Leon stands at the head of the Salamanca school, which includes such poets as Francisco de la Torre († 1594) and Francisco de Figueroa († 1617?). But his style has pitfalls for the imitator, it is easier to make glass than a diamond.³ Occasionally a poem such as Miguel Sanchez's *Cancion a Cristo crucificado*

¹ ff. 171, v. 172, *A Nuestra Señora*: 'Del sol ardiente y de la nieve fria'; and 203, a sonnet: 'Si pan es lo que vemos, como dura.' The subject of the text of Luis de Leon's poems is full of difficulty, but Spanish scholars are at work on it and are likely before long to provide a critical text. See Federico de Onís in *Revista de Filología Española*, vol. ii (1915), pp. 217-57; A. Coster in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xlv (1919), pp. 193-248, 573-82. From time to time new poems by Luis de Leon, or attributed to him, are discovered: see A. Laforestier, *Poésies attribuées à Fray Luis de Leon*, in *Revue Hispanique*, t. xliii (Jun 1918), pp. 493-504 [eight poems from the *Revista de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes* (nos. 2, 4, 5, and 6), four of which are not in Merino's edition]; Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Tres poesías inéditas de Fray Luis de León*, in *Estudios Literarios* (1920), pp. 159-70.

² Bartolomé Góngora in the MS. *El Corregidor Sagaz* [1656] does not mention Luis de Leon in his list of 'sujetos heróicos en letras divinas y humanas que florecieron en España, gobernándola D. Felipe II'. (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iv. 1205.)

³ It might even be safer to imitate the anonymous grandiloquent poem on the Ascension, beginning *A los balcones de bruñida plata*, than the rapt simplicity of Luis de Leon's *Y dejas*. The result would at any rate be coloured glass. Luis de Leon's poems are also the despair of the translator. Some of them have been rendered into German, French, and English. A little book of 23 pages, *Poems from the Spanish of Fra* [sic] *Luis Ponce de Leon* translated by Henry Phillips, and printed for private circulation at Philadelphia in 1883, includes the Ascension, *Noche Serena*, *Cuando seré*, *Qué vida descansada*—

Oh what a blissful lot, from anguish free,
Is his who, flying from the world's mad fray,
The hidden path descries
O'er which the few true wise
Stood in their placid wont from day to day!—

the Prophecy of Tagus, and Ode to Avarice. The Ode to Salinas is omitted. Some of the lyrics were also translated by Ticknor and Churton. There are French prose versions by Guardia and Boris de Tannenberg (*The Ascension*).

might attain sufficient excellence to be ascribed to the master, but most of his followers, as Sigüenza,¹ Malon de Chaide,² Pedro de Uceda, never approach the mountain heights that he so serenely scaled. Luis de Leon, continually imitating, was always original; but that was the privilege of genius.

¹ For an example of his Muse see Sigüenza's *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ed. Juan Catalina García (*Nueva Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vols. viii and xii), vol. I (1907), pp. xx-xxi.

² See *La Conversion de la Madalena*, *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 285, 291, 293, 298, 335, 343, 359, 361, 379, 393, 405. It is a far cry from Luis de Leon's poems to that of Malon de Chaide beginning 'Oídme, vacas gordas'. Only the Ecstatic Doctor could reach Fray Luis's level.

XI

As Prose writer (Humanist, Theologian, and Philosopher)

'I caste into the shippe in the steade of merchandise a prety fardel of bookes.'—SIR THOMAS MORE.

'Y vemos cada hora en los libros la hermosura y el dulzor de sus escogidas y artificiosas palabras.'—LUIS DE LEON.

FRANCISCO PACHECO declares that Luis de Leon not only was a great dialectician, philosopher, and theologian, but excelled in all arts and sciences, and was a celebrated mathematician, a great astrologer, an excellent doctor and painter and lawyer.¹ He is also said to have been a dramatic author, and we know that he studied music.² A scholar might then aspire to universal knowledge, the painter did not consider theology outside his province, and the mathematician might be also a poet. We have scientific references here and there in Luis de Leon's works, and he clearly interested himself in all the scientific progress of his time. He had in full measure the scientific as well as the artistic temperament of the Renaissance. His desire for knowledge was insatiable, and his interest was of endless variety. He

¹ *Libro de Retratos*: 'fué gran dialectico i filosofo, maestro graduado en artes i dotor en theologia por aquella insigne Universidad donde fué cate-dratico más de 36 [30 ?] años . . . supo Escolastica tan aventajadamente como si no tratava de Escritura i de Escritura como si no tratava de Escolastica. Fue la mayor capacidad de ingenio que se ha conocido en su tiempo para todas ciencias i artes; escrevia no menos que nuestro Francisco Lucas, siendo famoso matematico, aritmetico i geometra, i gran astrologo, i judiciario (aunque lo usó con templanza); fué eminente en el uno i otro derecho, medico superior, que entrava en el general con los desta facultad i arguía en sus actos. Fué gran poeta latino i castellano, como lo muestran los versos. Estudió sin maestro la pintura i la exercitó tan diestramente que entre otras cosas hizo (cosa difícil) su mesmo retrato. Tuvo otras infinitas habilidades que callo por cosas mayores. La lengua latina, griega, i hebrea, la caldea i siria supo como los maestros della; pues la nuestra con cuanta grandeza, siendo el primero que escrivió en ella con numero i elegancia.' Pacheco derived part of his information from Luis Moreno Bohorquez, Luis de Leon's companion during the last years of his life.

² *Doc. inéd.* xi. 302: 'Oyó deste testigo la especulativa.'

derives his similes from the art of painter, sculptor, potter, alchemist, architect, engraver, lapidary, silversmith, musician, actor, singer, dramatist, fencer, doctor, farmer (grafting, sowing, threshing, cutting down and transplanting trees).¹ His curiosity extends to elephants, whales, goats, dogs, foxes, doves, eagles, the camel, the rhinoceros, spices, metals, dreams, fishing, the ancient Pelasgi, the modern Arabs, Roman history, ancient and modern life.² If to us his conception of the world seems artificial—the sky and heavenly bodies rushing past the unmoving Earth which is sustained in the air by some marvellous means unknown to man and is the centre of the Universe, even as man, the little world, was the central figure of the Earth for whom all things were made,³ some for his use, some for his admiration—his attitude is nevertheless more scientific than that of Bacon

¹ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 131 ('como en el arte de alquimia'); iii. 192 ('segun dicen los medicos'); iii. 242 (transplanting of trees); iii. 202 ('como el scultor haze la estatua del marmol que le dan'); iii. 236 ('como el artifice que encierra en oro alguna piedra preciosa la conforma a su engaste'); iii. 53 ('lo que los plateros llaman vaciar, que es infundir en el molde el oro o la plata derretida'); *La Perfecta Casada*, Introd. ('como en la comedia silban los miradores'); *Opera*, vi. 325 ('sicut patet in architecto'); *Exposicion de Job*, x. 9 ('como el que labra in barro'); *Opera*, iv. 19 (grafting); ib. 21 (sowing); *Opera*, iv. 399 (singing); *Opera*, v. 86 ('ut ars quae est in architecto'); *Opera*, i. 420 ('ut medici'); *Exposicion de Job*, x. 8 ('particular atencion y diligencia cual es la que pone el que pinta, no en lo que rasguña sino en lo que figura'); ib. xvi. 2 ('como acontece a los que esgrimen'); ib. xix. 24 ('se abren las letras con escoplo o cincel en la piedra y después se hinchén de plomo vaciado'); ib. xxxviii. 6 ('los niveles y las plomadas y los cordeles'); ib. xxx. 12 (threshing); ib. xxiv. 22 and 23 (bull-fights); *La Perfecta Casada*, § 2 ('como quando en una materia dura y que no se rende al hierro ni al arte vemos una figura perfectamente esculpida'); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 200 ('y como el artifice', &c.).

² Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 232 (ancient customs); i. 241 (snakes); iii. 236 (apes); *Exposicion de Job*, xl. et seq. (elephants, whales); ib. xxxix. 16, 17 (ostriches); *La Perfecta Casada*, § ix (lizard and butterfly); *Exposicion de Job*, xix. 12 (roads); *Opera*, iv. 438 (the blindness of puppies till they are nine days old); *Opera*, iii. 74 (eagles); *Opera*, iii. 57 (Siculi and Pelasgi); *Opera*, iii. 196–7 (seeds); *Opera*, ii. 150 (second sight); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 207 (seeds); ib. ii. 190 (fruit-trees in Persia); *Opera*, ii. 33 ('Memoriâ teneo signa feminarum perantiqua vidisse me', &c.); *Opera*, ii. 278 (Moorish door-bolts in Spain); *Opera*, ii. 111 and 232 (dyed hair of Moorish women in Andalucía); *Cantar de Cantares*, i. 4 and 11; vii. 5 (customs of Arabs); *Opera*, i. 28 (eagles and their young); *Exposicion de Job*, iii. 7 (keening of *enderas*), &c., &c.).

³ Cf. *Opera*, vii. 202, 372; iv. 27; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 65, 233; *Exposicion de Job*, xxxiv. 17 ('desde la primera hasta la postrera de todas sus obras las ordenó para la salud y mejoría del hombre' (elsewhere he says for Christ); ib. xxxvi. 12 ('las criaturas . . . hechas para nuestro provecho').

('these mad carmen who drive the Earth about') or Browne or El Brocense or Valles, who explain *why* the Earth must be stationary.¹ Luis de Leon accepts the inexplicable fact among many others which the human intellect may not decipher;² but he hopes in a future life to know how the Earth is founded in air and the sea imprisoned, the reason for earthquakes and rough seas and the never-ceasing flow of rivers, heat and cold, rain and snow and thunder (which for Luis de Leon and his contemporaries preceded lightning),³ the motions of the stars, the lengthening and shortening of the days. His poetry is filled with such questionings. His interest in and knowledge of mathematics is attested by the evidence of Juan Galvan, a student who lived in Salinas's house at Salamanca and had studied theology, astrology, and mathematics with Luis de Leon.⁴ That he had not merely gazed at the heavens but studied astronomy is evident. 'He was a great astrologer,' says Pacheco; and he had in fact, when he was over forty, studied the art with a certain Licenciado Poza at Salamanca.⁵ One must remember that astrology then embraced astronomy as well as what we should now consider the false science of astrology. Salamanca University possessed a Chair of Astrology. Ciruelo in his *Reprouacion de las supersticiones* has a chapter against *false* astrology, as distinguished from true astrology. Alfonso de la Torre describes the province of astrology as that of 'considering the altitude and

¹ Cf. *Francisci Sancti . . . Opera Omnia*, iii. 391; Valles, *De Sacra Philosophia*, pp. 10-11; Huarte, *op. cit.*; *Obras de Doña Oliva Sabuco* (1888), p. 386: 'ad animalium quietem immobilis facta est.'

² *Exposicion de Job*, xx. 27: 'del cielo parece que es encubrir y de la tierra no moverse', ib. xxvi. 7 (cf. 14): 'a la tierra pesadísima sostiene como colgada en el aire'; ib. xxxviii 4: 'no basta lo que del centro se dice porque eso es lo que no se entiende y espanta'; *Opera*, i. 489: 'cujus [coeli] motus est velocissimus' Cf. the poem *Cuando será que pueda*. Mexia declares that the Earth 'se tiene en el aire naturalmente sin ir a una parte ni a otra' (*Dialogos Eruditos* [1547], ed. Seville 1570, p. 147, and in the same dialogues Petronio cannot understand how there can be inhabitants in the Antipodes.

³ Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xxxvii 3 and 4; *Opera*, i. 182.

⁴ *Doc. inéd.* xi. 304 (January 17, 1573): 'por espacio de dos años le ha comunicado cosas de teulugia y de matematicas y de astrologia.'

⁵ *Doc. inéd.* x. 200-1: 'habrá como año y medio [i. e. in 1570] que en Salamanca un estudiante licenciado en canones que se llamaba el licenciado Poza . . . me leía principios de astrologia' (April 18, 1572). Luis de Leon was in prison when a new star, carefully observed by Tycho Brahe, appeared (August 1572 to the end of 1573) near Kappa of Cassiopeia.

movement and number of the heavens and stars'.¹ Fray Luis's intellectual curiosity may occasionally have led him astray.² According to Pacheco he also practised *astrologia judiciaria*, the Chaldean art, which Valles devotes part of a chapter of his *De Sacra Philosophia* to condemn.³ Cabrera tells of a certain Pierola, a Navarrese and 'half a soldier', who called himself a prophet and was so esteemed by vain credulity that he made bold to foretell the future. This he did by symbolic lines and letters combined with texts of Scripture. Grave persons gave him a hearing, and among these was Luis de Leon, whom Arias Montano reprimanded for his credulity.⁴ The probability of this is borne out by the passage in which Luis de Leon declares that he had himself made an experiment in astrology with a book and a formula given him by Licenciado Poza.⁵

¹ *Visión delectable de la filosofía*, cap. vii (Bib. Aut. Esp. t. xxxvi (*Curiosidades Bibliográficas*), p. 349).

² He seems to have believed in the influence of the stars, *coeli positio, stellarum constellatio* (*Opera*, iv. 393-4; iii. 89). His curiosity embraces the fasting 'Indian philosophers' (*De los Nombres*, ii. 154), the Sibyls ('Sybillae cognoverunt hoc mysterium', *Opera*, v. 157), the 'lamiae qui colunt demonem' (*Opera*, v. 445), and Pythagorean numbers and transmigration (*Opera*, v. 281: 'binarius numerus apud Pythagoricos est symbolum corruptionis', i. 356, iii. 266).

³ *De Sacra Philosophia . . . liber singularis*, cap. xxxi ('Astrologiae iudicariae reprehensio'). See also cap. xxx. The *Constituciones Synodales del Obispado de Avila* (Madrid, 1617), f. 184 v. Tit. v. *De sortilegiis*, excommunicates 'Hechizeros, Agoreros, Sortilegos, Astrologos, Iudicarios y Adiuunos'.

⁴ *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, lib. xii, cap. 23, modern ed., vol. ii, pp. 567-8: 'Hubo un Pierola, de nacion navarro, medio soldado, que se llamaba y le llamaba la vana credulidad profeta, cuando menos que, preciándose de espíritu profético, o por los discursos o por la experiencia vino a ser respetado, y él, hinchado con tal estimacion, se atrevia a decir sucesos venideros, sin señalar tiempo ni personas, adivinacion sin riesgo de ser convencida. Comunicaronle personas graves y por haberlo hecho el maestro fray Luis de Leon, fraile agustino, fué del doctor Arias Montano reprehendido. Hacía caracteres y figuras lineadas, ajuntando lugares de escritura, interpretados con latin toscó y torpe, y dixo a los codiciosos vanamente de maravillas algunos acontecimientos.' Philip II ordered Quiroga to have the 'prophet' examined, and he was finally punished.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.* x. 201: 'me dijo un día que él tenía un cartapacio de cosas curiosas y que tenía algun escrúpulo si le podía tener; que me rogaba le viese y le dijese si le podía tener, porque si podía se holgaría mucho. Era un cartapacio como de cien hojas, de ochavo de pliego, de letra menuda. Vile a ratos, y había en él algunas cosas curiosas y otras que tocaban a sigillos astrológicos y otras que claramente eran de cercos y invocaciones, aunque a la verdad todo ello me parecía que aun en aquella arte era burlería. Y acúsome que leyendo este libro, para ver la vanidad dél, probé un sigillo astrológico y en un poco de plomo que me dió el mismo licenciado con un cuchillo pinté

His interest in medicine appears in several passages of his works.¹ That he was well versed in both civil and canon law both his works and his trial amply prove. One of the most interesting of Pacheco's statements is that Luis de Leon 'taught himself painting, and attained such skill that he performed the difficult feat of painting his own portrait'. Various passages in his works might seem to corroborate this, unless the statement was an inference from these very passages.² His love of pictures is obvious. He speaks of 'rooms made beautiful by rare and exquisite pictures',³ and says that a beautiful painting is a delight to the eyes.⁴ But his subtle distinctions between shades of colour and his remark that 'painters when they wish to paint a form in colours first outline it in chalk or charcoal'⁵ seem to indicate that he did not confine himself to admiration, as indeed we should expect from the man who sought out masters in music and astrology. He had studied pictures technically.⁶ His love of the concrete proves his artistic temperament, but

no me acuerdo qué rayas y dije unas palabras que eran sanctas y protesté que las decía al sentido que en ellas pretendía el Espíritu Sancto,' &c. Cf. *Opera*, iv. 393: 'defectus morborum saepe etiam provenire solent ex vitio aeris et stellarum constellatione'; vi. 72 (he contrasts the diagnosis of a doctor and of an astrologer, the doctor says the patient will die, the astrologer says that he will live: 'uterque verum dicit et recte iudicat, quia unusquisque secundum causas proprias ad se pertinentes iudicat').

¹ e. g. *Exposicion de Job*, xvi. 12: 'coge allí [in the neck] todos los nervios, que son los medios por donde el cuerpo se mueve, los cuales nacen del cerebro y se juntan en la cerviz y por ella descenden y se reparten al cuerpo'; ib. xli. 15 (the heart); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 177 ('las epítimas que en el corazon le ponen'); ib. p. 192; *Opera*, iv. 88.

² Especially from *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 40 ('Porque como un grande pintor, si quisiese hacer una imagen suya que lo retratase volvería los ojos a si mismo y entendiéndose menudamente se debuxaría allí primero que en la tabla y más vivamente que en ella'), and ib. pp. 41, 43.

³ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 69 ('aposentos hermoseados con peregrinas y escogidas pinturas').

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 225 ('la pintura hermosa presente a la vista deleita los ojos').

⁵ *Opera*, vii. 367 ('quemadmodum pictores faciunt, ut, cum formam aliquam coloribus depingere volunt, ejus formae prius creta aut carbone extrema et quasi summa delineamenta ducant'). Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, x. 8 ('particular atencion y diligencia, cual es la que pone el que pinta, no en lo que rasguña sino en lo que figura').

⁶ *La Perfecta Casada, Introducción* ('conforme a lo que suelen hacer los que saben de pintura y muestran algunas imágenes de excelente labor a los que no entienden tanto del arte, que les señalan los lejos y lo que está pintado como cercano y les declaran las luces y las sombras y la fuerza del escorzado'). There are further allusions to painting in §§ 3 and 12 of the same work.

assuredly painting for him meant thought and psychology as well as form and colour. He must certainly have appreciated the art of El Greco, which he had the opportunity of studying when he was at Toledo in 1582, some years after the Cretan artist's arrival. Cardinal Quiroga was among Theotocopuli's patrons, and St. Augustine figures prominently in the Burial of the Conde Orgaz.¹ Luis de Leon was, if not at Toledo, at Madrid a few months before and after El Greco signed the agreement to paint this masterpiece in March 1586.² Admirers of the eminent Augustinian and of Domenico may like to think that Luis de Leon had something to say to the choice of subject for the picture.

Was the report of Luis de Leon's dramatic authorship likewise derived from references in his works, or was there possibly some confusion with Luis de Belmonte³ or Luis de Belmonte Bermudez? The *Song of Songs*, says Luis de Leon, is really a drama, in which the actors only, not the author, speak, as in a tragedy or a comedy. It has its chorus and it preserves the unity of place although not that of time.⁴ On the other hand he denounces the 'lasciva spectacula' recently introduced, and those (the Jesuits?) who encouraged them.⁵

¹ From the Conde de Orgaz Luis de Leon's uncle, Antonio, had bought the town of Polvoranco on August 28, 1569.

² See Francisco de San Román, *El Greco en Toledo* (Madrid, 1910), p. 142. Luis de Leon was at Toledo again at the end of 1590.

³ *Bibliotheca Nova*, ii. 23.

⁴ *Opera*, ii. 115. Cf. ii. 381 ('Nam illas foeminas sponsa rogat, quae partes chori agunt in hoc dramate'): ii. 411 ('hujus dramatis scena . . . foeminarum chorus'); ii. 345 ('locus et tanquam σκηνη hujus dramatis'): ii. 116 ('quibusdam videtur et locus multiplex et actio non unius diei, quibus de tempore assentior sed de loco non possum'). In *La Perfecta Casada* (*Introduccion*) he says, 'como en la comedia silban los miradores al que es malo en la persona que representa'; and in § 12 'al que (en la farsa) representa una doncella hermosa'. Cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xi. 17: 'como entremés y fin de tragedia.'

⁵ *Opera*, iii. 389-90: 'qui lasciva spectacula aut exercitant aut spectant aut permittunt . . . non ante multos annos apud nos se perniciose insinuavit. . . Cui qui patrocinantur viri, ut fertur, religiosi atque graves . . . qui religiosi cum sint aut se certe profitentur esse iis favent spectaculis et suae personae obliviscuntur.' Fray Diego de Tapia, following Luis de Leon, considers that 'las (comedias) que ahora se representan son de cosas lascivas, feas y torpes', ap. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, iii. 88; Fray Alonso de Mendoza distinguished between the plays and the dances that accompanied them. In another passage Fray Luis modifies Cano's statement as to the creation of new Orders (Cano derides those who think they must be fallen from Heaven because they are confirmed by the Pope, *De Locis Theologicis* (1563), lib. v, cap. 5) as follows:

No one will doubt that the author of the ode to Salinas was a lover of music, and we know that he studied 'música especulativa' under a master of European reputation, his intimate friend Francisco de Salinas. A harmony pervades all his work, as it pervades the *Republic* of Plato. He refers to music and the harmony of the spheres with something of the insistence of Milton and declares that to spend one's life with music is to spend it in content, since 'music is the companion of joy'.¹

Luis de Leon is pre-eminently the representative humanist of the Spanish Renaissance. In him all the various currents meet and mingle, and although he may not have been so profound a Hebrew scholar as Arias Montano, and had not so many apt Greek and Latin quotations at the tip of his pen as the amazing Brocense, and was certainly not so polished a Ciceronian Latinist as Sepúlveda, his supreme poetical genius made his scholarship a more living thing. He is representative too of that attractive feature of the Spanish Renaissance, the tendency to moderation and eclecticism. He was a Platonist, but also a Scholastic, a Stoic and a Christian, a humanist and a lover of his native tongue, and, divinely eclectic, went his way gathering honey from all the schools. He constantly follows 'la Escuela', only opposing its abuses, such as the hairsplitting of Sophists and Nominalists which El Brocense and Matamoros condemned. He shared El Brocense's and a hundred other Spanish thinkers' admiration for Epictetus and the Stoic philosophy, but even the Stoic philosophy compared with Christianity is 'una poquedad y

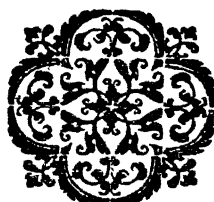
'non potest accidere ut religio quam approbavit summus Pontifex sit dishonesta et illicita; potest tamen accidere ut sint parum utiles, et hoc modo debet intelligi Magister Cano' (*Opera*, v. 381).

¹ *Exposicion de Job*, xxi. 12: 'pasar la vida en música es pasarla en contento, porque es compañera de la alegría la música'; ib. iii. 6: 'música que hace las noches alegres y que se suele hacer en las noches serenas y apacibles.' Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 225 ('los oidos se alegran con la suave armonía'); ib. i. 69 ('los menestres y dulçura de música'); ib. i. 151 ('como la cuerda en la música debidamente templada en si misma hace música dulce con todas las demás cuerdas'); ib. ii. 70 ('como en la música no suenen todas las voces agudo ni todas grueso, sino grueso y agudo debidamente, y lo alto se tiempla y reduce a consonancia en lo baxo'); *La Perfecta Casada*, § iii ('como se hace en la música, con diversas cuerdas hizo una provechosa y dulce armonía'); *Opera*, i. 258 ('laetissimae voces'); *Opera*, iv. 234: 'cantus et res musicae, cui naturaliter inest vis ad excitandum animum ad cœlestia et ad sedandos et componendos affectus.'

F. L V Y S I I
L E G I O N E N S I S
A V G V S T I N I A N I
D I V I N O R V M L I B R O R V M
apud Salmanticenses
interpretis

*De utriusque agni typici atque veri immola-
tionis legitimo tempore*

A D I O A N N E M G R I A L V M.



S V B P E R M I S S V.
S A L M A N T I C Æ,
Apud Guillelmum Foquel.

clb. lb. xc.

[Facsimile of title-page of the 1590 edition]

baxeza'.¹ To Luis de Leon Christianity was nothing narrow or exclusive, but summed up in itself the pith and kernel of all art and science and philosophy. Without it there was no possibility of a harmony ordering all things to their appointed end, nor of reconciling the law of justice with the law of nature. Virtue and truth and justice consisted in the perfection of each thing according to its kind, the faculties of each creature,² and although the senses are imperfect³ and man's reason infinitely incapable of fathoming the divine purpose,⁴ each must do his utmost in his own sphere and according to his talents: those who did so would in a future life be admitted in a greater or lesser degree into the presence of God, according as the divine part of their nature ('Dios está presente en nosotros') had been perfected and their senses glorified.⁵ As a theologian Luis de Leon has some profound remarks on the nature of God, on His relation to Nature and to man, on a future life, predestination, justification, and other subjects concerning which he characteristically combines orthodoxy with boldness. In God the one and the many are reconciled and all things exist in Him in essence.⁶ He has the power to create everything out of nothing. His essence is communicable, whereas that of the Trinity is incommunicable.⁷ He is omnipotent.⁸ Luis de Leon believes with St. Augustine that the world was created in a single moment.⁹ The created world, with

¹ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 99; cf. ib. iii. 186 ('miserablemente abrazados con Solon o con Pythagoras'); and *Opera*, ii. 392-4 ('superbia et arrogantia, quibus vitiis omnes [*sic*] Philosophorum vita et institutio inficiebatur [*sic*]') and ii. 251 ('quae a nostris oratio vocatur, philosophis parum nota'). Cf. i. 111 and vi. 306, where he remarks that the qualities of mercy and humility were unknown to Aristotle.

² *Opera*, v. 15 ('virtus est perfectio potentiarum erga suum objectum'); i. 10 ('verum autem est cui ad sui generis perfectionem nihil deest').

³ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 222 ('más o menos se les comunica el sentido').

⁴ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 168 ('sabiduría adonde no puede arribar ingenio ninguno mortal'); ii. 32 ('sería poco el saber de Dios si lo comprendiese nuestro saber'). Cf. ib. i. 48 ('Y como el que infunde agua en algun vaso de cuello largo y estrecho,' etc.) and numerous other passages.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 173 ('glorificando los sentidos').

⁶ *Opera*, vii. 8 ('de Deo, in quo omnia sunt simplicia'); vi. 33 ('Deus potest considerari dupliciter, primo modo ut est prima causa omnium rerum et etiam ut ultimus finis hominum . . . alio modo considerari potest ut est trinus et unus').

⁷ *Opera*, iv. 66-7.

⁸ *Opera*, v. 416. The proposition 'Deus non est omnipotens' is *plane haeretica*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

all its variety of excellence,¹ is but a shadow of the divine perfection,² although a shadow of sufficient beauty to testify to the existence of God and to His presence in Nature³ as the connecting link in Nature.⁴ God exists in each man as in all Nature, but true union will come only after death, when the soul will see and understand God in various degrees of sight and understanding:⁵

Locati son per gradi differenti.

After the resurrection of the body it will become spiritualized, and although merged in the divine essence will preserve its individuality.⁶ Luis de Leon frequently dealt with the question of predestination and free will, which caused such controversy in the second half of the sixteenth century, culminating in the publication of Luis de Molina's *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis* in 1584 and the discussion *De auxiliis* at Rome thirteen years later. A stake and a tree when planted may be very much alike, but in the case of the tree we clearly foresee its development in a myriad twigs and leaves. The question arises

¹ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 239: 'variado y lleno de todo género y de toda especie y diferencia de bienes.'

² *Opera*, iv. 26; *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 42 ('sombra de ser').

³ *Opera*, ii. 70: 'testatur quidem omnis natura Deum esse'; vi. 111: 'quamvis omnia sint realiter in Deo'; ii. 194: 'quamvis Deus in omni natura semper sit'; ii. 421: 'quamvis insit atque eluceat Deus in universi natura.'

⁴ Cf. *Opera*, vii. 368: 'quamvis res omnes aliae aliis similes sint.'

⁵ *Opera*, vi. 233 ('Deus erit in omnibus, vere unius'); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 44 ('Dios está presente en nosotros'); ib. i. 45 ('el tanto de sí y de su esencia que comunicará Dios con la vista y entendimiento de cada uno de los bienaventurados . . . con cada uno será en diferente grado'); *Opera*, v. 62 ('poena damni in damnato, quae consistit in carentia divinae visionis, est maior in uno quam in alio'); vi. 69 ('per suam essentiam immediate videtur'); *Exposicion de Job*, xix. 27: 'cada un le verá segun su medida.'

⁶ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 221: 'después de la resurreccion de la carne, justos y gloriosos, y por todas partes dedicados, diferentes en personas seremos unos en espíritu'; ib. ii. 129: 'lo que es hombre casi no será sino Dios'; ib. ii. 124: 'hará que el alma se enseñoree del todo del cuerpo', 'le dé condiciones de espíritu y cuasi le transforme en espíritu'; ib. i. 79: 'la comun resurreccion tornará a la vida nuestros cuerpos deshechos.' Cf. *Opera*, i. 97, 190 ('iusti, resumptis corporibus'), 191; iii. 411-12; vi. 140 (the bodies of dead children will grow to manhood). As to the wicked (and he was of opinion that they were numerous: 'perditorum hominum quorum maxima est multitudo,' *Opera*, i. 161) he speaks of 'supplicium nunquam finiendum' (i. 74), 'non finiendis suppliciis' (i. 345), 'ignibus sempiternis' (i. 94). Cf. iii. 408, 459.

how far this development is free, whether there is active intervention between the perfection of the full-grown tree and the moment of its conception potentially in the mind at its planting. Creation, says Luis de Leon, is not properly action nor motion, but a simple emanation without successive stages;¹ but on the question of subsequent divine intervention in 'secondary causes' he seems to have taken a middle course between Molina and Bañez.² To the question of grace and justification he recurs continually, refuting the heretics and giving his own opinions in that lucid style which never leaves any doubt as to his meaning either in his Latin or Spanish works, and succeeds in interesting even the profane in such matters. Grace, he says, is really like a medicine which is not effective unless it be applied.³ Other interesting passages in his works refer to auricular confession,⁴ ceremonies and images,⁵ prayers to saints,⁶ Purgatory,⁷ the relations between faith, based on authority, and theology based on reason,⁸ the nature of personality,⁹ the inner light of nature (*lumen naturale, lumen internum*) to be set over against the free examination advocated by heretics,¹⁰ the mystery of the Mass

¹ *Opera*, vii. 150: 'creatio non est proprie actio nec motus sed quaedam simplex emanatio, idcirco caret omni successione.'

² See Marcelino Gutiérrez, *Fr. Luis de León y la filosofía española del siglo xvi* (1891), pp. 234-235. Among many other interesting passages in Luis de Leon's works on the subject of free will and predestination see *Opera*, iv. 34 (predestination of Christ); v. 615 ('nec praescientia nec revelatio divina imponit necessitatem rebus'); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 245; *Opera*, vii. 227 ad fin.; vii. 112 (see the whole treatise *De Praedestinatione*); vi. 101; i. 418 and i. 507 ('admittimus casum in ordine ad causas secundas et non in ordine ad Deum').

³ *Opera*, iv. 485: 'satisfactio Christi est velut medicina quae sine applicatione non operatur.' Cf. iv. 452: 'gratia antecedendo operationes nostras efficit illas meritorias,' and *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 121. In *Opera*, v. 467 he remarks that 'honorificentius est habere aliquid ex meritis'.

⁴ *Opera*, v. 417, where he characterizes as *scandalosa* the proposition 'Tot incommoda sequuntur ex confessione auriculari quot commoda'.

⁵ Cf. *Opera*, v. 339; iv. 230 et seq., 251 et seq., 263 and 272. He condemns foolish and careless ceremonies, such as a bull-fight in honour of a saint, the profane adornment of sacred images, religious dances ('impudicae et molles'), 'et sexcenta alia. . . Cujusmodi multa sunt in monasteriis, ut quod junctis manibus bibant' (*Opera*, iv. 240).

⁶ *Opera*, v. 478-9.

⁷ *Opera*, v. 525-30. He had treated the subject with some boldness as early as 1560 in one of the texts chosen in the examination for his Licenciado degree (*Doc. inéd.* x. 188-9).

⁸ *Opera*, v. 481-2.

⁹ *Opera*, iv. 169-74.

¹⁰ *Opera*, v. 124-5; 117 ('dicunt quod unusquisque ex suo spiritu et iudicio

(with the bread formed of a myriad grains like souls in Christ),¹ the sanctity of married love,² the Immaculate Conception,³ and papal infallibility.⁴ Luis de Leon accepted the dogmas of the Church. He only gave a modified assent to Horace's doctrine of progressive degeneration ('aetas parentum pejor avis'). He saw real progress in the three ages of the Church, from *niña* and 'juvencula' (*algo mayor*) to *doncilleja*. Nevertheless he was clearly fascinated by the idea of the primitive Church,⁵ and moreover held with St. Augustine that the just who lived before Christ belonged to the Church.⁶

Luis de Leon was an orthodox theologian following closely the Augustinian line of thought, but in theology as in philosophy he belonged to no school, standing, like Vives, consciously outside all the schools in ardent pursuit of truth. It is perhaps significant to find the man of many enemies, the denouncer of abuses, constantly moderate and conciliatory⁷ in his doctrines, while his probing of all authority⁸ indicates how those enmities arose. He may support the Angelic Doctor against Scotus and Durandus,⁹ but he is not to be bound by all the tenets of the School. Above all things his thought is vigorously independent. So many influences¹⁰ acted upon it that it would be difficult to

debet iudicare . . . Haec opinio est insania plena'). Cf. ib. 495: 'pertinaciam qua non vult credere nisi ratione sibi prius demonstretur.'

¹ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 75-8; i. 231.

² *Cantar de Cantares*, vii. 10.

³ *Opera*, iv. 102 et seq., 128; v. 214, 413. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was not defined until three centuries later (in 1854).

⁴ *Opera*, v. 354: 'si Patres tenent unam sententiam et Pontifex aliam, assentiendum esse opinioni Patrum et Pontifex tenetur suam opinionem deponere.' Cf. 363 et seq., 374. The doctrine of papal infallibility was not established until 1870.

⁵ Cf. *Opera*, ii. 208: 'veteris illius Ecclesiae quae ante mille annos felicissime floruit'; iii. 166: 'omne enim virtutum lumen tunc maxime emicuit.'

⁶ *Opera*, iii. 369: 'Nam qui ante Christi adventum extiterunt iusti, quorum fuit multitudo maxima, ad ecclesiam Christi omnes pertinuerunt.' (Cf. v. 202; i. 250, ii. 128, 313-14, 373-4.)

⁷ Cf. *Opera*, iii. 193 ('non enim pugnant inter se'); or vii. 354, where he reconciles the Gospels (utrumque verum est).

⁸ Thus he gives St. Basil a pat on the back: 'praeclare enim D. Basilius' (*Opera*, iii. 41); says that Origen 'dared' to affirm (iv. 445), and that St. Anselm came within an ace of blasphemy ('parum abfuit a blasphemia', iv. 463); elsewhere he contradicts Cano and attacks the Nominalists ('postulat decipi'). Cf. iii. 209, 211.

⁹ *Opera*, iv. 182. Cf. v. 385 ('magis consona rationi . . . et ideo sequenda').

¹⁰ For a list of some of the authors quoted or referred to by Luis de Leon

define them. He probably owed his scientific spirit—*habitus scientificus* or *assensus scientificus*¹—partly to Ramon Lull, much in vogue in Spain in the sixteenth century, as well as to the atmosphere of the times. Cano had taught him to balance the claims of reason and authority. Aristotle and Scholasticism had accustomed him to close reasoning and logical thought; Plato, Pythagoras² and Leon Hebreo bathed all his thought in a new light. It is impossible to deny the predominance of Platonism in his work. His conception of the world with all its beauty as a shadow, a passing show (*vana burlería, una sombra, inanis quaedam imago*);³ of a picture as existing previously in the mind before it was set on canvas; of all creation not as an act so much as an emanation of thought; of the difference between words as they exist in the mind and as they are spoken, are all instances of thought fundamentally, although perhaps only half

see Appendix. Muñoz (*op. cit.*, f. 208) perhaps exaggerated the influence of Fray Luis de Granada on Luis de Leon: 'Constame de original muy cierto que el gran Maestro Fray Luis de Leon, de quien ya hizimos mencion en este libro, escribió a Arias Montano su grande amigo que, retirado en una casa de campo que tiene el convento de San Agustin de Salamanca en una isleta que haze el rio, q describe en la Introduccion del libro segundo de los Nombres de Christo, leyó todas las obras del Padre Fr. Luis de Granada y que avia aprendido más de su letura que de quanta Theologia Escolastica avia estudiado. Es ciertissimo que el Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de Leon alabava con grandes encarecimientos el estilo, elegancia, vigor en el persuadir del Padre Fr. Luis de Granada; dezia que le avia dado Dios el don de la eloquencia christiana. Dióse este gran varon los últimos años de su vida a la leccion de libros espirituales, y en aquel tiempo eran los de nuestro maestro los que más ruido hazian en España; salió con su leccion tan aprovechado en lo místico como antes docto en lo escolastico; pocos le igualaron en su siglo, será asombro en los venideros.' Luis de Leon was well able to criticize Scholasticism without the help of Luis de Granada, as his funeral oration for Soto proves. We know that he read Luis de Granada, for one of the first books he sent for in prison was his *Libro de la Oracion y Meditacion* (not of course the original 1554 edition, condemned by the Inquisition and placed on the Index of 1559, but the corrected Salamanca edition of 1567).

¹ Cf. *Opera*, iv. 311: 'habitus fidei et habitus scientificus possunt concurrere.' He is fond of giving such instances as that of a line and points, or *lapis ad centrum*. Another example which he uses several times is that of the 'puer in silvis', soon to be developed out of a platitude of the Schools into Gracian's Andrenio.

² To the Pythagorean philosophy Luis de Leon's contemporary, Valles, devoted a whole chapter (*De Sacra Philosophia*, cap. lxx).

³ Although in numerous passages of his works Luis de Leon lays stress on the untrustworthiness of the senses and of judgement derived from them, and on the necessary limitations of human understanding, he did not with Berkeley consider the external world as non-existent. See, among other important passages, *Opera*, iv. 369.

consciously Platonic. None better than Luis de Leon realized the limits of human reason, and that knowledge, which appears so great to the beginner, seems to shrink and dwindle as one advances, till we 'sehen dass wir nichts wissen können'. But the very fact that the external world was a shadow, an emanation of the divine spirit, acted as an incentive. Because it was impossible for man to understand the *arcana Dei*,¹ Luis de Leon would not have him desist from observation and investigation of Nature, any more than he would have him resort to selfishness and indifference, because, as he points out in several passages, suffering and fear are born of love. But the prize must be deserved, although not enjoyed in this life, and to those who actively persisted would come a full revelation of love and knowledge in that region without shadow where

Veré, distinto y junto,
Lo que es y lo que ha sido
Y su principio propio y escondido.

Luis de Leon professed himself loath to add to the immense number of books appearing daily.² If he published his works it was at the express bidding of the Provincial of his Order. The first to appear were the Latin commentaries on the *Song of Songs* and on Psalm xxvi, together in 1580.³ Writing half against his will,⁴ his knowledge of and delight in the original nevertheless made this commentary on the *Song of Songs* a masterpiece. He had begun to translate his original Spanish commentary on the *Song of Songs* into Latin as early as 1571.⁵ In its final shape, as enlarged by the author in the third edition (1589),⁶ it consists

¹ See especially the interesting passage in *Opera*, i. 493-95 and ii. 57-8.

² *In Cant. Cant. Lectori*: 'iudicabam ipse certe tam multis hac nostra aetate non solum novos libros ipsis edentibus sed ad aliorum bene scripta carpenda excubantibus et intentis scribendi munus hoc tempore nec nimis utile esse aliis et iis ipsis qui scribunt esse valde periculosum.' Cf. Melchor de Santa Cruz in the preface to his *Floresta Española* (Toledo, 1574): 'tanta multitud de libros . . . como cada dia se imprimen'.

³ *In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis Explanatio (In Psalmum Vigesium Sextum Explanatio)* Salmanticae MDLXXX. This was plagiarized by Fray Jeronimo Almonacid in his *Commentaria in Cantica Canticorum Salomonis* (Compluti, 1588).

⁴ *Opera*, ii. 41: 'ad has scriptiones non, ut alii, animi aut oblectationis causa sed necessitate quadam compulsus accessi.' It occupied him on and off for several years. Cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 99: 'el año pasado (1571) comencé a ponello en latin'.

⁵ *Doc. inéd.* x. 99.

⁶ It forms vol. ii. of his *Opera* (1892), where the title is given as *In Canticum, &c.*

of a threefold commentary of the Song: (1) as an allegorical drama of newly wedded love, (2) as the mystic journey of the soul to God, (3) as the history of the Church on earth from earliest times to its extension by missionaries, by the conversion of the Jews, and by the second coming of Christ, by which alone the inner corruption of the Church seemed healable. The treatise thus touched on three burning questions of the sixteenth century in Spain: the natives of the New World, the New Christians, and the reform of the Church. It has lost none of its interest to-day.

The commentary on Psalm xxvi was written in prison, partly at least in July 1575;¹ he had chosen this psalm as suited to his own case, but the many personal allusions do not prevent his commentary, which he dedicated to Cardinal Quiroga, from reaching sublime heights. His other Latin commentaries include that on the 32nd chapter of Deuteronomy, *In Canticum Moysis*, which was given in the form of lectures in 1582 and which ends with a protest against malicious persecution of the Jews;² those on Psalms lxvii (lectures of 1582), xxviii, and lvii (1581-2);³ his lectures on *Ecclesiastes* (full of quotations from the poets), which were interrupted (ix. 12) on August 17 [1580] and completed by Fray Diego de Tapia;⁴ and his lectures on Obadiah, published in the year 1589.⁵ As to the New Testament he lectured on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians (pub. 1589)⁶ and the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians⁷ (1581). Besides these exegetical works, delivered in the Bible Chair held by Luis de Leon from 1579 to 1591, there are scholastic treatises such as the *De Charitate*,⁸ given in the Chair of St. Thomas, which he left in 1565, the *In Tertiam Partem Divi Thomae*,⁹ which must be assigned to

¹ *Opera*, i. 165: 'iam mensis agitur quadragesimus ex quo inimici mei de me triumphum agere coeperunt.' It is reprinted in *Opera*, i. 111-68.

² *Opera*, i. 1-104. Cf. i. 104: 'Acabóse este cántico el último día de Junio del año de 1582, y fué la postrera lección' (marginal note).

³ *Ibid.*, 169-270. The commentary on Ps. xxxvi (*Opera*, vii. 409-55) is also ascribed on good grounds to Fray Luis (1586 or earlier?).

⁴ *In Ecclesiastem* in *Opera*, i. 273-508. A Spanish translation, perhaps, but not necessarily, by Luis de Leon himself, was printed under the title of *El Perfecto Predicador* in *Revista Agustiniiana*, vol. xi (1886), p. 344—vol. xiv (1887), p. 343.

⁵ *Opera*, iii. 5-174.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-418.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 419-81.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vi (1894). Cano's *De locis theologicis* (1563) is mentioned (vi. 28).

⁹ *Ibid.*, vii, pp. 185-338 [incomplete].

the same Chair, and the series of lectures of the Chair of Durando (1565-72), including the *De Fide* (1567-8),¹ *De Spe*,² *De Praedestinatione*³ (1571), *De Creatione Rerum*,⁴ and *De Incarnatione*.⁵ Although Luis de Leon was preacher in his Order as well as lecturer, he does not seem to have preached often, and apart from the Soto, St. Augustine, and Dueñas orations sermons ascribed to him are of doubtful authenticity.⁶ As to the style of these Latin works it must be remembered that with few exceptions they were not prepared by their author for the press, and that in such treatises as *In Cantica Canticorum* (1580), rewritten and increased in the third edition (1589),⁷ and the *De Vtriusque agni*, &c. (1590),⁸ it is excellent: lucid, fervent, nervous, energetic. Lucid and energetic he always is, but in his lectures, if El Brocense's *Minerva* had appeared a few years earlier, he might have avoided sentences in which Latin appears in clogs⁹, as he did when he wrote, in his own phrase, 'pinguiore Minerva'.¹⁰

Of his Spanish works the first to see the light (1583) were *La Perfecta Casada* and the first two books of *De los Nombres de Cristo*. The popular and incisive treatise *La Perfecta Casada*, which no doubt owed something to Vives's *De institutione christianae feminae* (1524) and Bishop Guevara's *Letra para los*

¹ *Opera*, v. 9-447. Half-way through (p. 207) the year (*nunc anno 1568*) is specifically mentioned. (Cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 97: 'habrá cuatro o cinco años' (March 1572).)

² *Ibid.*, pp. 449-618.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 3-133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-182.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv (1893).

⁶ Luis de Leon's Latin works, composed in spare moments of a most busy life, form seven large volumes. To a projected work he alludes in *Opera*, iii. 195: 'in eo libro quem inscripsimus de triplici unctione fidelium cum Christo, quemque Deo annuente propediem edituri sumus.' Diego Lopez de Leon Varela is said to have owned MS. sermons by Luis de Leon. See Gallardo, iii. 373. Some of his MSS. probably perished in the fire of 1589. Another loss was that of many Hebrew and Greek books with marginal notes by Luis de Leon, destroyed in the fire of August 26, 1774.

⁷ See *Opera*, ii. 82.

⁸ It is reprinted in *Opera*, vii. 339-359.

⁹ e. g. iii. 476: 'constat quod tempus adventus Christi non solum potest ex Scripturis certe cognosci sed etiam quod iam est elapsum, quod potest confirmari ex illo quod, etc.'

¹⁰ In his trial Luis de Leon refers (1572) to his lectures *De Angelis* (*Doc. inéd.* x. 189, 191, 211. See *Opera*, iv: *De Incarnatione*, 332, 444); *De libero arbitrio*, delivered twice (ib. 188); *De Eleemosyna* (ib. 189: 'muchos años ha'); *De Praedestinatione*, *De Eucharistia*, *De Fide* (ib. p. 190); *De Legibus* (ib. 191-2); *De gratia et iustificatione* (ib. 395, 443); 'la lectura que hize acerca de las promesas de la ley vieja' (x. 395, 449); 'mi lectura de las traslaciones de la sagrada Escritura' (x. 395).

recien casados (1524),¹ is perhaps the most widely known of all his prose works. Several editions appeared before the author's death and it has been constantly reprinted since. Alas, it was read without understanding, for a foreign observer at the end of the sixteenth century records that women painted their faces as much as ever: 'in Spagna tutte le donne fanno la faccia d'un colore.'²

The first part of 'las pláticas de los nombres de Cristo', continued far into the night on the islet of the river Tormes, was written in prison. Yet the glow of the stars intensely burning, the leafy murmur of the trees, and the sound of flowing water still seem to fill its pages. Genius made a masterpiece (*de un paño todo*) of a patchwork written at odd moments,³ and has placed modern readers in a quandary, for they have either to read a work on what may now be almost considered a forbidden subject or miss one of the most delicious pieces of prose existing in any language. Of the three speakers Marcelo is Luis de Leon, but the identity of Sabino and Juliano, both 'de grandes letras e ingenio', is unknown. Some critics have thought they were Alonso de Orozco and Alonso de Mendoza, but as Orozco was over seventy and Mendoza under twenty in 1572 it would have been an ill-assorted company. Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela is inclined to think they might be Juan de Guevara and Pedro de Aragon.⁴ The existence of a shorter treatise on the same subject (*De nueve nombres de Cristo*) in the handwriting of Orozco led some critics to doubt Luis de Leon's originality. The genius so evident in the style of Luis de Leon's treatise does not appear in that of Orozco, so the question of date is not of great importance; it is clear, however, that Orozco's work is merely a sum-

¹ *Epistolas Familiares* (1545), no. li. In 1562 the Augustinian Fray Alonso Gutiérrez (de la Vera Cruz) published a *Speculum Coniugiorum* (Salmanticae).

² Luis de Leon characteristically condemns painting, not on ethical grounds only, but for aesthetic and hygienic reasons: it is wicked, ugly, dirty and unhealthy. *La Perfecta Casada* was imitated and in part directly copied by the Franciscan Alonso de Herrera in his *Espejo de la perfecta casada* (Granada, 1637).

³ See, for instance, vol. ii (1917), which is partly a Platonic dialogue (pp. 22, 178 et seq.), partly a sermon (pp. 44-64), partly a commentary on the *Song of Songs* (pp. 238-251); cf. iii. pp. 145 et seq. Juliano describes the book as a patchwork in another sense (i. 214).

⁴ Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *De Nueve Nombres de Cristo* in *Archivo Histórico*, vol. xvii, Marzo y Abril de 1922, pp. 137-149 (p. 147).

mary of that of Luis de Leon, which Juan Valera (1824-1905) rightly called a *libro divino*.¹

If any fault is to be found with Luis de Leon's style it would be that it is occasionally rhetorical and sometimes too rich. This abundance sprang from an abundance of matter and thought, as though one sentence and simile came boiling and bubbling over another.² The repetitions are often deliberate, and, far from diminishing, increase that energy and concentration for which his style is famous.³ It is marked rather by character and significance than by restraint (*optime et significantissime*, in his own words).⁴ But restraint came later, partly perhaps under the influence of his admiration for Santa Teresa's prose,⁵ and in his last work, the *Exposicion de Job*, written at the request of Madre Ana de Jesus and finished a few months before his death, although begun fifteen years earlier, rhetoric and excess have disappeared, while the energy and purity of phrase remain.⁶ Much of Luis de Leon's work centres round *The Song of Songs*,

¹ Ibid., p. 142, and *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana*, vol. vi (1922), pp. 150-6.

² Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 104: 'No tiene fin este cuento'; ib. iii. 35: 'la esterilidad es un género de flaqueza y pobreza'; *Opera*, i. 149: 'innumerabilia uno tempore unoque etiam verbo conatur cuncta eloqui.'

³ Cf. such energetic phrases as *arrancar de cuajo* and bold metaphors like *asidos a la alámba de nuestro corazon*. Occasionally a play on words occurs: 'siendo perdidos nos hace ganados suyos'; 'es una palabra que cuadra,' which makes it probable that *Castra* in a passage of his Latin works stands for *Leon de Castro*. His derivations of *casamentero*, *De los Nombres*, i. 35, and *ceremonia* (*Op.* iv. 233) are little better.

⁴ He is not afraid of superlatives. Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 70 ('incomparablemente grandissimo, gloriosissimo, perfectissimo'); ib. iii. 129 ('incomparablemente ardentissimo'); ib. iii. 131 ('finissimo... abundantissimo... baxissimo'). For instances of his intensity see ib. iii. 126-7 ('la viveza y firmeza y blandura y fortaleza y grandeza de amor'); iii. 148 ('se enciende, se apura, se esclarece, se levanta, se arroba, se anega el alma'); iii. 100 ('le alienta y le mueve y le deleita y le halaga y le gobierna'). The hall-mark of his style is the frequency of connecting particles: the twelve sentences of *Exposicion de Job*, viii. 20 begin respectively with *que—mas—y—porque—y—porque—porque—porque—y—pues—porque—y*. Of a succession of sixty-seven sentences in *La Perfecta Casada*, § iii, twenty-four begin with *y*, sixteen with *porque*, four with *que*, four with *pues*, two with *mas*, and one each with *pero*, *entendiendo que*, *por lo cual*, *por manera que*, *lo cual*, *allende de que*, *mayormente que*, and *ansi que*.

⁵ He speaks of her *elegancia desafeitada*: 'deleita en extremo, dudo yo que haya en nuestra lengua escritura que con ellos se iguale' (*Carta dedicatoria*).

⁶ Although kept in manuscript, it was appreciated by scholars: 'ha sido siempre estimadissimo' (Pacheco); 'mire doctis placet' (Antonio).

the Spanish translation and commentary of which was perhaps the earliest of his prose works (1561). In this translation he purposely adopted an archaic style: *muy a la vizcaina*, as he himself said. One may regret that the times, as well as lack of leisure, did not permit him to translate the whole of the Bible into Spanish, but a goodly portion of it is scattered through his writings. To his work on the Scriptures he brought all the fruits of his other studies: heathen poets, pagan philosophers, the wise and just of every age or creed or nation, stand close by the altar; and the result is a richness and magnificence, a glow and fervour, which assure to this master magician of words and thoughts a life equal in duration to that of those sacred books to which he gave so steadfast a devotion.

XII

As Political Thinker : Luis de Leon and Philip II

“Τὸ δὲ ὄρθον περὶ πλείστου ποιησάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτου τιμὰς, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον τὸ δίκαιον.”—PLATO.

‘Son un cuerpo de republica y de pueblo mil hombres en linajes extraños, en condiciones diversos, en oficios diferentes y en voluntades e intentos contrarios entre sí mismos, porque los ciñe un muro y porque los gobierna una ley.’—LUIS DE LEON.

It has often been remarked that Luis de Leon thirsted after justice.¹ Man cannot be too just, as he explains the passage in *Ecclesiastes*, although in his zeal for justice one may be actually unjust and excessively severe and even hypocritical.² In justice is based peace and harmony, the harmony of body and soul and of the relations between man and man. Justice, like charity, begins at home, and each man in his station has to constitute a unit of justice by conquering his own soul and zealously performing his part, however humble, in the community. The *casada* is not to go perpetually warming the floors of churches,³ the priest is not to interfere unnecessarily in the private affairs of others,⁴ the judge and the theologian must stick to their last.⁵ The real injustice began when the peasant forsook the soil and

¹ Among many other passages cf. *Cantar de Cantares*, viii. 14 ad fin.

² *Eccl.* vii. 16, *Opera*, i. 448-9: ‘Itaque nimium iustum vocari eum hoc loco non qui studet nimium esse iustus sed qui affectat videri; nam huic severitas et truculentia et hypocrisis agnatae sunt.’ Cf. Francisco Valles, *De Sacra Philosophia*, cap. lxvii, 1652 ed., pp. 333-6: ‘nulla igitur iustitia vituperanda neque quisquam esse potest nimis iustus.’

³ *La Perfecta Casada*. Cf. *Opera*, i. 468: ‘coniugatae monachae esse volunt, monachae coniugatae, privati [= private persons] de republica consultant,’ &c.

⁴ Cf. the remarkable passage in *Exposition de Job*, xxiv. 21 (‘acuden luego estas aves y coloreando con largas devociones y oraciones su entrada negocian su interés y regalo’); *De los Nombres de Cristo*, iii. 12: ‘no es de los frailes encargarse del gobierno de las casas ajenas;’ *La Perf. Cas.*, Introd.: ‘ni el religioso, aunque más trabaje, gobernará como se debe la vida del hombre casado.’

⁵ *Opera*, i. 193: ‘Si te monachum profiteris non discrepet vita ab instituto; si magister theologicus esse vis, cum munere et insigniis conveniat vita atque doctrina; si iudex es, jus serva; denique non alius sis in vita et more et alius esse videri velis’; i. 468: ‘nam qui sua officia opere exequitur is probus est, contra autem improbus qui id non praestat.’

the tradesman aspired to live like a nobleman. For Luis de Leon believed in the justice of inequality—in Aristotle's geometrical or relative equality. Although in some ways he may be regarded as a revolutionary, he had none of that mean and odious envy of the prosperity of others which is too often the mark of the modern democrat. As Fray Luis looks on the glittering magnificence of a royal palace his thought is 'How infinitely greater and better is he for whose service all this is ordered!'.¹ There is a curious passage, too, in which after declaring that to lay down one's life for a friend (the question was a favourite *disputatio quodlibetica* of the scholastics), although without *obligatio praecepti*, is *quaedam decentia moralis*, a kind of moral decency, he goes on to say that there may be a kind of prodigality in doing so; for instance, it would not be honourable, but ignoble, for a magnificent and illustrious man to expose his life for one of no account.² Clearly he accepts the distinction between classes, *maximam disparitatem dignitatis et excellentiae*,³ and he has perhaps a touch of the humanist's disdain⁴ for *la gente baja, el vulgo, vulgares homines*. He does not idealize the peasants or the shepherds.⁵ On the other hand, he contrasts the *simplices et*

¹ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i (1914), p. 69. He has no objection to many servants (*ampla familia*) if properly employed (*Opera*, ii. 431).

² *Opera*, vi. 251: 'Sed aliquando contingit ut sit genus prodigalitatis exponere vitam pro amico, ut, si homo magnificus et illustris vellet exponere vitam pro ignobili homine, non esset hoc utique honestum aliquid facere sed ignobile.' (The second *ignobilis* is here moral, but the first must refer to birth and position. Cf. vi. 252: 'non licebit homini nobili et generoso vitam propriam exponere pro homine abjectae conditionis'.)

³ *Opera*, vi. 3: 'inter regem et infimum agricolam amicitia conflare non potest propter maximam disparitatem dignitatis et excellentiae.'

⁴ Cf. Petrarca, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, i. xi: 'Dixi et repeto, quicquid vulgus cogitat vanum est, quicquid loquitur falsum est, quicquid improbat bonum est, quicquid approbat malum est, quicquid praedicat infame est, quicquid agit stultum est'; *Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Angleri Mediolanensis* (Parisii, 1670), Ep. 6: 'de populo, quem semper flocci faciendum censui, nihil ad me'; J. Osorio, *De Gloria*, 1568 (Complviti) ed.: ff. 12 ('amentia popularis'), 21, 21 v ('est namque vulgi proprium omnem virtutis excellentiam odio habere'), 26 ('Nunquam enim fuit consilium in populo, nunquam certa et constans vitae ratio, sed immanis audacia atque temeritas omni flagitiorum generi copulata') &c.—dark sayings against 'Liberty' and 'Progress' which must be left in the Latin tongue, although Petrarca's *De Remediis* was early translated into Spanish. The great Spanish poet Herrera could speak disdainfully of 'la canalla y hez del vulgo'.

⁵ *Exposicion de Job*, xxx. 7: 'porque la manera de conversar y de alegrarse entre gente tan baja es de ordinario torpe y bestial'; *Cantar de Cantares*,

idiotae homines, the *simplex et humile vulgus*, free from ambition and avarice and always ready to listen to the teaching of holy men and to accept the light of true piety,¹ with those who are puffed up by the spirit of the world, *spiritus mundi*, 'the persons whom the world now calls *señores*,'² who appear to him merely useless. 'He who really lives, of however low estate, can be useful in something,'³ whereas the rich and those of high estate must expect reversals of fortune in this life and tribulation in the next.⁴ In the sixteenth century in Spain fortunes were made and lost with unprecedented frequency and swiftness,⁵ and while on the one hand the old class divisions were broken down, on the other servants and tenants often had reason to complain of their treatment by the newly rich, '*los que alzó la fortuna*'. Luis de Leon would have retained the class distinctions even as he favoured *la disciplina domestica*,⁶ but he warns the masters in significant words that they and their servants are of one and the same clay, and equal before the law.⁷ There are some women, he says, who think that their flesh is the flesh of angels and that of their servants rather doglike than godlike,⁸ and who treat them accordingly. It was once more his chivalry towards the weak that drew from him what must have appeared the revolutionary doctrine that servant and master were equal by nature and before the law. In the same way injustice between landowner and peasant roused him to protests more vehement even

i. 5: 'Como pastores era gente tosca y de mal aviso' (but see *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 130). So he says that nurses are usually 'de viles pensamientos y ánimo' (*La Perfecta Casada*, § xviii.) and speaks of a servant (*criado*) as inferior (*Opera*, vi. 311). In *Exp. de Job*, xli. 13, he uses the word *lacayo*. Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ed. cit., i. 172 ('las gentes baxas y viles, así en officio como en condicion'), i. 7 ('gente animal y tosca'), ii. 223 ('sentir bruto y de aldea'), ii. 224 ('tosco y aldeano deleite').

¹ *Opera*, ii. 305.

² *La Perfecta Casada*, § vii.

³ *Opera*, i. 504: 'qui vero vivit, quisquis ille sit, quantumvis infimus et vilis, potest esse utilis in aliquo.'

⁴ *Opera*, i. 89-90.

⁵ *La Perfecta Casada*, § xi: 'cada día acontece.'

⁶ *Exposición de Job*, xxxi. 31.

⁷ *La Perfecta Casada*, § xi: 'que así ellos como sus criados son de un mismo metal y que la fortuna, que es ciega, y no la naturaleza proveída es quien las diferencia.' Cf. *Exposición de Job*, xxxi. 14 and 15: 'que son iguales en ley el siervo y el amo, pues lo son en naturaleza, y que pues son de una especie pertenecen a una republica y por el mismo caso los gobierna y los rige un gobierno y un fuero.'

⁸ *La Perfecta Casada*, § xi. Cf. *Exposición de Job*, xxxi. 13: 'igualdad penosísima a los ánimos altivos y señoriles.'

than those of Sá de Miranda, whom he in many ways resembled. 'For surely', he says, 'it is a terrible evil that the poor farmer should have toiled a whole year with his family, turning over the soil, labouring by day and scarcely resting at night, up early and fasting, in frost and heat, cultivating the land, and, what is worse, entrusting to the furrows the little store of grain which was his life and sustenance; and then the owner of the land that he has sowed comes, idle, taking his fill of rest and sleep, and after all his labour despoils him of the fruit of it and idly and carelessly devours all this toil of others and rejoices while the unfortunate farmer grieves and sighs.'¹ The evil of the neglect of agriculture was very real in the sixteenth century. Although Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, in his *Obra de Agricultura* (Alcalá, 1513), might claim to have raised agriculture into an art, the call of the Indies was too strong, Castille became dispeopled,² and the art was, moreover, not scientifically practised, as Simon Abril lamented later.³ Luis de Leon's cry was 'back

¹ *Exposicion de Job*, xxxi. 39. Cf. Sá de Miranda († 1558), *Poesias* (1885), p. 199:

Que eu vejo nos povoados
Muitos dos salteadores
Com nome e rosto de honrados
Andar quentes e forrados
De peles de lavradores.

One almost seems to hear other echoes in such sentences as 'Porque qué es sino ser cautivos de amos importunos, o por mejor decir de crueles fieras, las mesas, y los lechos y los juegos y los pundonores y el desconcierto de vida y el estilo de aquestos, rodeados de seda y de olores?'; 'servian esclavos imaginándose grandes y señores'; 'los que menos son y menos valen por la mayor parte son estimados en más' (*Exp. de Job*, xxxiv. 25); 'es como natural a los ricos injustos ir poco a poco comiendo las heredades de los pobres que lindan con los suyos, mudándoles los mojonos y términos' (ib. xxiv. 2). According to Leonardo Donato in 1573 (Cabrera, *Hist. de Fel. II*, vol. iv (1877), *Apéndice*, p. 420) the peasants in Spain live very comfortably ('la contadinanza vivono commodissimamente'). Morosini in 1581 (ib. p. 485) says that 'sono gli spagnuoli per lo più e ricchi molto e molto poveri.'

² Cf. Leonardo Donato (1573), *loc. cit.*, p. 409: 'per mancamento d'uomini è lasciato incolto'; Morosini (1581), ib. p. 482: 'molti terreni restano incolti'; p. 483: 'nel lavorare e coltivar la terra sono negligentissimi.' The taxes fell heavily upon Castille: 'non essendo oggi nel mondo popoli più aggravati dei Castigliani' (ib. p. 484); the population of Burgos fell from 5,000 householders in the middle of the sixteenth century to 823 in 1616 (Altamira, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 488). Donato estimates the population of Spain, including Portugal, in 1573 at eight millions.

³ Pedro Simon Abril, *Apuntamientos* (Bib. Aut. Esp. t. lxxv, p. 296: 'al

to the land', he advocated a return to a simpler and more patriarchal life in which, he contended, enjoyment was at once more real and more permanent.¹ This was at the back of much of his zeal for reform and praise of the 'life removed': he was preaching not in favour of, but against, idleness and luxury,² and was among those who saw that the wealth of a country consisted not so much in the possession of much gold, or even in commerce, as in the development of its resources. As to trade, his ideas to-day might be condemned as primitive. Of the three kinds of men, those who themselves cultivate the soil, those who live by a trade or profession, and those who live on the rent of the land cultivated by others, that of the last, he says, may be called *vida descansada*,³ but that of the first is the most natural and the best, a school of innocence and truth.⁴ The profession of commerce is less natural and is liable to deceit and falsehood. The traffickers who cross the seas risk not only their life but their soul. The age of fierce competition was beginning. Not that Luis de Leon wished to abolish trade entirely,⁵ only in the sixteenth century he sought to redress the balance in favour of agriculture. His attacks were directed against unjustly acquired wealth, not against wealth in itself, 'que tambien dan su autoridad las riquezas'.⁶ If priests ought to subject themselves to poverty, lay persons might live with a certain splendour.⁷ Content was, however, to come before riches. He inveighs against avarice, the source of injustice.⁸ Riches are acquired with difficulty and are a dangerous possession, a kind of slavery.

agricultura . . . cuya ignorancia tiene perdidos estos reinos de vuestra majestad [Philip II].'

¹ Despite his love of reform he was old-fashioned in his views. Cf. his account (*De los Nombres*, iii. 182) of new-fangled charity 'with pipe and drum'.

² For his denunciations of luxury see *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 89.

³ *La Perfecta Casada*, § v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § iii. Cf. *Opera*, i. 395: 'quos alma fovet pax, quia in unius terrae cultu occupati eique dediti imperia negligunt opesque et studia ambitionis'; *Exposicion de Job*, i. 3 and xx. 17.

⁵ Cf. Sepúlveda, *Opera*, iv. 157, and *Exposicion de Job*, xxviii. 5 and 8.

⁶ *Exposicion de Job*, xxix. 12. Cf. *Opera*, vi. 298: 'abiicere divitias melius est quam habere illas, at utrumque est bonum.'

⁷ *Opera*, vi. 355: 'quia saeculares possunt et in statu et in ornatu domus et familiae splendorem quaerere, quod non licet episcopo.'

⁸ *Opera*, i. 397. He is fond of quoting the saying 'Avaro tam deest quod adest (or habet) quam quod non adest (or habet)' (i. 397, 410, 416).

Man's good fortune consists not in prosperity, since it is often through adversity that he reaches happiness.¹ Those who trade and toil and watch add gold to gold, and property to property, until their houses and entailed estates seem to tower to heaven, but their labour has no true foundation of justice, and the edifice thus erected comes toppling to the ground.² Above all he protested against materialism and against the idea that wealth was not an instrument but a title of nobility.³ He held it as right for a king or one of the ancient nobility to have wealth as it would be ridiculous for an artisan or a peasant. His interpretation of *medianía*, of the golden mean, is the just measure corresponding to each case.⁴ It is not to be lightly decided that any man has a superfluity of riches, it depends entirely on his station in life.⁵ It was only in cases of extreme necessity that all things might be considered to be held in common, 'without mine or thine.'⁶ Luis de Leon wished to keep the peasant in his place, but he wished him to be educated; he was a champion of serious literature for all to read; above all he was a champion of the poor and oppressed. What was his attitude towards women, towards slavery, the natives of the New World, the Jews, the heretics, the Inquisition? He agrees with Huarte that women have weaker intellects than men.⁷ It is not the part of women to teach but to be taught. The very name of woman means weakness and

¹ Cf. *Opera*, i. 46; iii. 86; *Exposicion de Job*, iii. 23. Ibid., ii. 10: 'no está la buena dicha del hombre en ser próspero: la adversidad es la que de ordinario le hace feliz'; 'el que tiene muchos bienes . . . viene a ser esclavo.' Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 145: 'Al ambicioso su deseo de honra le trae a ser apocado y vil siervo.'

² *Exposicion de Job*, xx. 19.

³ Ibid., xxxi. 25: 'Porque como por la corrupcion de nuestras costumbres se han hecho compraderas todas las cosas, parécele a quien tiene oro que allí lo tiene todo,' &c. As to birth, cf. his poem *La cana y alta cumbre*: 'son títulos menores.'

⁴ *Exposicion de Job*, xx. 20: 'la medianía, el medirse cada uno consigo, es loado por todos.'

⁵ *Opera*, vi. 371: 'non ita facile iudicandum est aliquos habere superflua statui; multa enim sunt consideranda in particulari: status, filii et filiae, famuli, alumni, hospites, convivae, liberalitas etiam et magnificentia, quibus decet illum secundum suum statum erga alios uti.'

⁶ *Opera*, vi. 317: 'in extrema necessitate omnia sunt communia quoad usum . . . et tunc no hay mío ni tuyo.' Cf. the interesting remarks vi. 374-5 and 357. As to theoretical communists he evidently agreed with Vives, who called them 'vafri quidam, facinerosi, impudentes latrones.'

⁷ *Opera*, ii. 145 ('ingenium imbecillius'). Cf. Huarte, *Examen de Ingenios*

inconstancy. She is of unstable nature, full of dangerous charms, changing but obstinate, and loves to adorn herself and to have flowers about her. A few illustrious exceptions of great excellence only prove the rule; he concurs with St. Paul in thinking such cases rare, and would have this excellence displayed exclusively in the home. It is woman's part to care zealously for domestic affairs, she is the pride of the dwelling, the soul of the body. He certainly did not approve 'the German Church, where all, even women, may be priests, judges, and bishops.'¹ But the good woman in her home is above rubies: in comparison with her the sun loses its light and the stars cease to shine; he would have women always treated with chivalry² and he exhorts his readers not to be misled by a misogynic passage in the *Hecuba* of Euripides.³ We should be unfair to women, he says elsewhere, if we denied that there have existed women of great excellence, and notes that very learned men have written books about illustrious women.⁴

On the subject of the Jews and of the heretics Luis de Leon, like most of his contemporaries, had thought deeply. He had of course never had the slightest leaning towards heresy of any kind. His denunciation of abuses in the Roman Church was that of the good monk of whom Sepúlveda speaks in his *Antapologia*, addressed to Erasmus.⁵ At most he had a longing for the purity of the primitive Church.⁶ His Miltonic denunciation of the prelates of the Church at a time when in Spain appointments were very carefully made and birth and influence counted for little should give pause to those who deny the authenticity of the Dueñas oration. These 'blind mouths', he

[1566]: 'los hombres tienen en comun mejor ingenio que las mujeres' (*Bib. Aut. Esp.* t. lxxv, p. 441); 'las hembras . . . no pueden alcanzar ingenio profundo' (ib. p. 497).

¹ *Opera*, v. 211.

² See especially *La Perfecta Casada*, § iv.

³ For Luis de Leon's views on women see *La Perfecta Casada* and *El Cantar de Cantares* passim; also *Opera*, ii. 24, 144, 146, 155; iii. 69; i. 467, 468; vi. 10, 263, 277; vii. 436 ad fin. In *Cantar de Cantares*, i. 7, he says that women, as more delicate, are not employed in the heaviest work: 'si el marido cava, ella quita las piedras; si poda, ella sarmienta; si siega, ella hacina.' In *Exposición de Job*, i. 2, he declares that three daughters in a family of ten are quite enough!

⁴ *Opera*, i. 467.

⁵ Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Opera* (1780), vol. iv, p. 568.

⁶ *Opera*, ii. 208; cf. iii. 166.

says, are full of ambition and corruption, weaker than women, but quite dauntless when it is a question of obtaining preferment. Luxury and avarice and pomp and cruelty have so invaded the Church that there is scarcely any possibility of salvation. No doubt he was thinking chiefly of the state of the Church at Rome, which the Dominican Cano denounced in very similar terms.¹ Luis de Leon expected bishops to live very frugally and not to be constantly absent from their sees.² Against the error and delusion of the heretics he speaks frequently in his works.³ As to the Jews, his writings contain many very remarkable passages.⁴ He continually dwells on their blindness, but believes that they are nevertheless especially loved by God, and in lectures delivered after his imprisonment declares that the flower of the aristocracy of the Jews had taken refuge in Spain ('in Hispaniam confluit Iudaeorum nobilitatis pars maxima'). He is persuaded that before the end of the world the Jews will be reduced to the Christian fold. In a significant passage, a few years after his release, in 1582, he declares with great boldness that, although the enemies of the people of God now seem to flourish, yet they will be blotted out and the people of God will ultimately prevail over all, to the confusion of those who have acted unjustly and impiously towards God and towards His people, persecuting the just and good as well as the sinners with a personal hatred.⁵ He speaks of the services rendered by Jews

¹ Cf. Luis de Leon, *Opera*, ii. 207: 'regum domos frequentant et nihil non audent atque tolerant quoad consequantur quod cupiunt, id est, rebus Ecclesiae publicis praeficiantur'; ib. p. 209: 'una enim cum illis avaritia, una luxur et fastus, una crudelitas et immanitas aliaeque innumerae pestes in Christianos mores invectae ecclesiam oppresserunt, oppressamque ita tenent ut regressus ad salutem nullus fere sit reliquus'; and Cano's *Parecer* (1559): 'Mal conoce a Roma quien pretende sanarla' &c. Azpilcueta in 1552 refers to the bishops 'in veste multa et fulgida, in conviviis sibariticis et opiparis, in equis, mulis et mulabus praepinguibus et fulgide vestitis.' (Arigita, *op cit* p. 91.) Against Luis de Leon's denunciations may be set the passage (*Opera*, vi. 208) in which, comparing the Church of Rome with the German Church, he declares that the former is characterized by religiousness, justice, and temperance.

² Cf. *Opera*, vi. 269, 270, 352, 353.

³ e. g. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 216 ('el error luterano, su falsedad manifiesta'); ib. 237 ('los que desatinan agora'); iii. 186, 188 (the ceremonies of the Church are condemned by the heretics against all reason).

⁴ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 122-4; ii. 7-9, 16, 25, 31, 37, 39, 53, 60; *Opera*, iii. 147, 149, 169, 172, 321, 322.

⁵ In *Canticum Moysis Expositio* (*Opera*, i. 103, 104): 'sic hostes populi

as missionaries in the pagan lands to which they were dispersed,¹ and reminds his readers that Christ was a Jew.² Another passage of the *In Cantica Canticorum* is applicable, perhaps purposely, both to converted Jews and Old Christian hypocrites,³ while elsewhere he makes the unpalatable statement that before the end of the world the faithful will be rooted out for their great sins and replaced by 'fideles ex Judaismo'.⁴ Meanwhile the Jews were a difficulty in the State. Luis de Leon fully acknowledged the authority of the Inquisition and believed in its utility. He had himself before his arrest described in a lecture the various kinds of heretical (*haeretica, erronea, temeraria*, &c.) propositions.⁵ Heretics and Jews were in fact incompatible with that harmony and unity which formed the basis of his whole conception of life. That wonderful harmony of the stars, of the Universe, was to enter into men's lives, as a harmony of the body with itself, in health 'como música concertada'; of body and soul, in subjection of the senses to reason; between the one and the many, each thing containing within itself all other things, which is 'avecinar la criatura a Dios'; harmony of the relations between man and man, and between the soul and man and God ('tres pazes eslabonadas entre sí mismas'). Each man must perform his part as in a play,⁶ and the three kinds of men (agricultural, commercial, and landowners) which form a State must constitute separate parts of an ordered whole.⁷ Even in injustice there must be a measure of harmony, otherwise 'ipsi aliis praedae erunt'.⁸ Justice and harmony pervade his political as his philosophic ideas, justice being in itself a kind

Dei, quamvis nunc videantur florere, tamen alii aliis rationibus extinguuntur, populus autem Dei ad extremum in universos dominabitur . . . ab inimicis vexandum, quemadmodum fit in praesenti . . . Contra autem quoniam vidit inimicos populi Dei per omnes saeculi aetates semper se gessisse injuste atque impie erga Deum et erga populum suum; nam non solum vexant eos qui sunt peccatores in hoc populo sed saepe etiam vexant iustos atque bonos et cum peccatores vexant non id faciunt peccati odio sed ipsorum hominum et religionis ipsorum.'

¹ *Opera*, ii. 274.

² *Opera*, ii. 320.

³ *Opera*, ii. 458.

⁴ *Opera*, i. 215.

⁵ *Opera*, v. 416-17; cf. *Doc. inéd.* x. 77: 'yo porque no tengo ninguna cosa por cierta ni segura mientras por este tribunal no estuviere probada.' As to heretics 'quis non faveat ei qui homines consceleratos et odio et ferro persequitur?' (*Opera*, i. 153).

⁶ *La Perfecta Casada, Introduccion.*

⁷ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. ii, p. 139 ('lo que es de suyo señor que sea servido y obedecido').

⁸ *Opera*, i. 393.

of harmony. He speaks of the 'suavem omnium rerum dispositionem'¹, yet he knew that all things are perpetually at war,² that injustice and oppression had always existed, and he scarcely believed in a golden age.³ But behind unending conflicts is a providence 'quae ordinatissime omnia disponit'. All other creatures obey a law of their existence, and man cannot be the one discordant note in this harmony;⁴ but the only way for him to attain his law is by a 'secret justice' in the soul, which will teach him to know himself and others and learn the true 'proportio iustitiae et amoris'.⁵ And just as the body and the soul of man must be well balanced, so the State must be ordered for the welfare of the whole.⁶

In many ways Luis de Leon really saw eye to eye with Philip II. It is an interesting inquiry how far his constant denunciation of tyranny (the word tyrant even creeps into his translations when it was not in the original poem) and abuses concerned Philip II himself and the actual administration of Spain. If the Earth is to be judged by a heavenly pattern⁷, it might be difficult to justify any realm or ruler, and the strictures of the Augustinian poet have been sometimes thus explained.

Quando contemplo el cielo . . .

He speaks of *daemonis tyrannis*,⁸ tyrant and wicked being used almost as synonyms. Luis de Leon's tyrant is not necessarily the head of a State, but any oppressor, however obscure. But Luis de Leon was not lost in contemplation of the heavens, he had a very keen eye for reality. His writings are very personal and frequently allude to contemporary events. Names of persons

¹ *De Praedestinatione* (Opera, vii. 112).

² *Del mundo y su vanidad*: 'Con rigor enemigo todas las cosas entre sí pelean.'

³ *In Ecclesiastem*, i. 9-10 (Opera, i. 301): 'neque arbitrandum est maiores nostros meliore mundo usos fuisse quam nos'; 'nullum tempus fuisse quod vitio vacaret, in quo non alii alios opprimerent atque subjicerent' (ib. i. 438).

⁴ *Exposicion de Job*, xxviii. 28.

⁵ *Opera*, vi. 18.

⁶ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 94-5.

⁷ Cf. *Opera*, i. 424: 'haec vita nihil solidae laetitiae atque boni habet sed inanem quandam imaginem.' *Exposicion de Job*, xxxiv. 27: 'los que no quisieron a Dios por su guia'; God 'aunque es todo poderoso, no es absoluto ni tirano' (ib. xxxvii. 23).

⁸ *Opera*, v. 310. Cf. iii. 99, where *tyrannis* is 'peccatorum quasi culmen.'

tremble on the point of his pen and have to be forced back.¹ We must conclude then that he is thinking of concrete cases when he lashes unjust judges and denounces corruption and magistrates and administrators.² It is a strange thing, he says, that those whose duty it is zealously to guard and watch over the public weal and who should give virtue every protection are for the most part those who persecute and ill-treat it.³ Magistrates are a necessary evil, and governments, although designed for men's welfare, are often injurious owing to the greed and selfishness of the rulers. It frequently happens that a tyrant king converts everything to his own use and ruins his subjects.⁴ Again and again he refers to the oppression of the poor⁵, and the words tyranny, tyrant, occur throughout his prose-works and poems with exceptional frequency. He felt it his duty 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'. How he shakes and tosses those who consider that noble birth may cover a multitude of sins!⁶ How sternly he reprobates the *instans tyrannus*! Let it not be thought that he was a republican; he believed in monarchy, and for that very reason was extremely anxious to preserve it from abuses, although he allowed the King more power than modern ideas would be prepared to admit. Thus

¹ Cf. *In Cantica Canticorum* (*Opera*, ii. 303): 'quod probare possem multis exemplis, quorum nobis non minimam copiam nostra aetas suppeditat. Sed ea omittam, quoniam commemorari sine aliquorum offensione non possunt.'

² *In Ecclesiastem* (*Opera*, i. 348, 352; cf. vii. 397). Salazar (*Política Española* (1619), f. 119 et seq., praises the administration of justice in Spain. Cf. J. M. G. de Echávarri, *La Justicia y Felipe II* (1917), p. 7. Huarte considered that the judges were not carefully chosen (*Examen de Ingenios, Bib. Aut. Esp.* t. lxxv, p. 464). It was Luis de Leon's complaint that the sentences were too severe and were influenced by personal reasons: 'el odio de la persona deservaina contra el delito el cuchillo' (*Exposición de Job*, xix. 29). He could speak with special knowledge of the cloud of lawyers who in the sixteenth century began to cover the face of Spain: 'rapaces et luci avidos homines, quales sunt praetoris cohors, tabelliones, viatores, advocati, omnisque hujusmodi forensis turba' (*Opera*, iii. 75).

³ *Cantar de Cantares*, v. 8.

⁴ *Opera*, i. 480, 481. Even blind application of the law might be very unjust: 'la perfecta gobernacion es de ley viva' (*De los Nombres de Cristo*, i. 147).

⁵ Cf. *Opera*, i. 392, 393; *Exp. de Job*, xx. 5.

⁶ *In Abdiam* (*Opera*, iii. 67): 'quibus in lapidinis nonnulli homines, maximo iudicii errore seducti, constituunt totius verae dignitatis atque splendoris sedem atque domicilium, usque eo ut, quod a claris parentibus ortum ducant, ipsi omnibus vitiorum maculis cooperti claros se esse et illustres putent; nec

the King is the supreme arbiter of the law;¹ of civil law. An excommunicated prince is deprived of authority over his subjects, who, however, if they are unable without great injury to cease to obey him, must be excused: he instances not Charles V and Philip II, who were excommunicated by Paul IV, but Henry VIII and Elizabeth.² What was Luis de Leon's remedy against tyranny, which he so fiercely and consistently condemns? One might think that he was more moderate in this respect than Mariana, Molina (*De iustitia et iure*, 1593), Fray Antonio Alvarez and others, and agreed with Soto and Sepúlveda and Marquez³ since he gives Wyclif's 'Cuilibet licet interficere tyrannum privata auctoritate' as an instance of a seditious proposition,⁴ and declares that it is possible to obey all the commands even of a tyrant;⁵ it is permissible, he thinks, to wish for the death

solum confidunt turpitudinem suam iis in latebris maiorum abditam tegere sed splendescere ex eo etiam velint itaque tumeant ut prae se cunctos despiciant.'

¹ *De Fide* (*Opera*, v. 439): 'princeps, qui est summus arbiter civilis legis.' Cf. p. 217: 'potestas iudicandi res fidei non est apud reges'; p. 386: 'principes sunt custodes divinarum legum'; p. 392: 'divinae legis custodes.' Fray Antonio Alvarez in 1591 declared the law to be above the king: 'el imperio de la ley es sobre los príncipes.' Azpilcueta in 1528 could write that 'Regnum non est regis sed communitatis.'

² *Ibid.*, pp. 446, 447.

³ Marquez is less passive than Soto (see *El Gobernador Cristiano* (Salamanca, 1612), lib. i, cap. viii). Sepúlveda in his *De Regno et Regis Officio* (Hlerdae, 1571) preserves his usual moderation and good sense. He, like the great majority of Spanish writers who inveighed against tyranny, believed in monarchy as the most ancient and most natural form of government. As is well known, Mariana's work *De Rege et Regis institutione* was condemned to be publicly burnt in France, but not in Spain. A large number of works by Spaniards on the same subject (including Fox Morcillo's *De Regni Regisque institutione libri III* (Antuerpiae, 1556) and Furió Ceriol's fragment) afford materials for a study of extraordinary interest. The Portuguese Bishop Osorio's *De Regis Institutione et disciplinis libri VIII* (1566) was reprinted at Coimbra in two volumes in 1794.

⁴ *Opera*, v. 417. Cf. the Portuguese Jesuit Manuel de Sá († 1596): 'at occupantem tyrannice potestatem quisque de populo potest occidere, si aliud non sit remedium, est enim publicus hostis' (ap. Manuel Paulo Merêa, *Desenvolvimento da ideia de soberania popular nos séculos xvi e xvii*, in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. iv (1915), pp. 43-49). The idea of popular sovereignty was of course a Thomist scholastic doctrine and was preached by the Jesuits, while the claim of the divine right of kings was Protestant. According to the liberal Simon Abril rhetoric had become less necessary in the sixteenth century than it was in democracies: 'The people is better ruled by fear and power justly administered than by persuasion.'

⁵ *De Charitate*, *Opera*, vi. 44.

of a tyrant or heretic, enemies of the Church, although it would be a mortal sin for a private person to kill them.¹ But Luis de Leon positively gloats over the terrors of the tyrant: fear dwells perpetually at his elbow; neither sleeping nor waking nor at table, nor locked in his chamber, can he procure himself one instant's peace of mind. Not only does 'the secret execution of the justice of God' gnaw his conscience, but his first thought on waking is that of 'the knife and free and avenging dagger and the death that he deserves'.² 'We know', says Fray Luis, 'by many examples how many of the great before whom the earth trembled have received violent and unexpected deaths at the hands of those whom they held in subjection, and although this is done by men . . . it is always the work and will of God, who often punishes and repays in this way tyranny and pride.' 'If princes die suddenly, it is because God sees that they deserve it. Yes, and, as says the prophet, the people, that is the tyrant's subjects or they of his household, shall come at midnight to his dwelling and assault his chamber and enter it and strangle him in his bed! And the humble and oppressed who see the deed raise their voices in praise of God and confess that He is just.'³ Sometimes indeed, as Luis de Leon hints, the human instruments of this justice may go a little too far.⁴ In how many countries would these violent phrases, open incentives to revolution and tyrannicide, have been tolerated? 'It is dangerous', says Fray Luis, 'to speak ill of princes';⁵ but in Spain his remarks were allowed to pass without the intervention of the Censor. Philip II was only called a tyrant by his enemies and, like his cousin João III, was beloved by his subjects.⁶ When Luis de Leon

¹ *Opera*, vi. 198, 199, 213, 214. Cf. ii. 460: 'impii et tyranni.'

² *Exposición de Job*, xv. 20; *ibid.* 22: 'El cuchillo y el puñal libre y vengador y la merecida muerte.'

³ *Exposición de Job*, xxxiv. 20, 21, 24, 28, and 13 ('Porque si los príncipes y regidores del mundo son en sus oficios muchas veces injustos es porque les es advenedizo y como extraño el oficio, porque ninguno por su naturaleza es rey y todos lo son o por voluntad de los hombres o por su violencia'); an answer to the Protestant 'divine right' of kings.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xx. 27: 'son sin duda ejecutores crueles, haciendo muchas veces más de lo que les mandan.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxiv. 19.

⁶ 'L'universale dei Castigliani che sieno cristiani vecchi, così contadini come popoli delle città e cavalieri, credo che sia molto ben animato verso del re, come quello ch' essendosi del tutto dimenticato dell' origine sua tedesca

refers so contemptuously to 'estos reyes que vemos,'¹ he must be thinking of the arrogant heretics, the monarchs of France and England against whom Camões inveighs.² At other times he is denouncing the King's ministers and the subordinate officials. But when he says that 'tyrants and those who on earth unjustly flourish have no children or, if they have, it is in order that God may show in them manifest examples of His justice,'³ the remark seems to come nearer home. And when he speaks of the obstinacy and blindness of 'those who rule over us', and who consider themselves prudence personified, readers would have no difficulty in applying the allusion.⁴ When he refers to the oppression of 'mil mezquinos' and to hypocrite kings who 'under cover of the public weal set traps for the people in order to extract money from them,'⁵ he must have Spain in mind. When he laments 'el mal uso recibido,'⁶ is he not thinking of the Burgundian pomp and state introduced by Charles V and maintained by Philip II? When he says that a king is rather blinded than enlightened by the reports submitted to him,⁷ is he not alluding clearly to the 'rey papelero'? When he denounces those who 'in woods and mountains and desert places for a mere whim raise splendid buildings'⁸ none could fail to see a reference to King Philip's Escorial. Luis de Leon was in advance of his time and would have preferred to see the gold of Peru employed in developing the soil of Spain. The author of the 'Profecía del Tajo' was certainly not unpatriotic. Looking on the bleak and open country round Belmonte and Soria,

e fiamminga s' è fatto in tutto spagnuolo.' Report of the Venetian Ambassador [1573] ap. Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe Segundo* (1877), vol. iv, p. 436.

¹ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. ii (1917), p. 89. Cf. ib. 87-95, 109, 111, &c. In *Opera*, v. 197 he refers to Henry VIII: 'Nam Henricus Angliae rex fuit eo errore ut diceret tot esse ecclesias quot sunt regna.'

² *Os Lusíadas*, vii. 5, 6.

³ *Exposición de Job*, xxvii. 14. Cf. xx. 28 and xv. 29, 30, 32.

⁴ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. ii (1917), p. 46. Cf. pp. 87, 88.

⁵ *Exposición de Job*, xxxiv. 30; xxxv. 9.

⁶ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. ii, p. 72.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90: 'El conocimiento que tienen de sus reinos los príncipes por relaciones y pesquisas ajenas más los ciega que los alumbra.'

⁸ *Exposición de Job*, xv. 28. We know that there was much talk on the subject. Sigüenza speaks of 'la murmuración de su reyno que tan indiscretamente hablaba desta fabrica' (*Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, vol. ii, p. 439).

Toledo and Salamanca, he might speak of 'toda la espaciosa y triste España'¹, but he loved the country and the people.² He was proud of their exploits. With his liberal opinions, his hatred of injustice and oppression, he might perhaps have been expected to show himself a 'Little Englander' and, with Vitoria, to condemn the conquest of the New World. It was a difficult question during the sixteenth century and had brought ruin to more than one career. The Crown silenced Vitoria, but his fellow-Dominicans later, with Cano at their head, were not to be silenced, and Sepúlveda, who took a reasonable view and, without advocating slavery or condoning cruelty, claimed that conquest was legitimate, was thrown to the wolves. Luis de Leon distinguishes very clearly between the discoveries and conquests and the greed and cruelty of private adventurers, which he denounces in no honeyed terms. He who was so ready to impugn the acts of princes declares that if the Gospel is now preached less by missionaries than by the sword this is not the fault of the State but is due to the rapacity and avarice of private persons.³ Just as three centuries later, society had been convulsed⁴ and great interests had been created which proved more powerful than the Government. The peaceful conversion of the Indians, he points out in another passage, was impeded by the great difficulties and dangers to which the missionaries were exposed and by the dull intellect, inconstant character, and depraved habits of the natives. The employment of force was in some measure unavoidable.⁵ He examines the opinion of Scotus that the heathen might be compelled by arms to accept the Christian faith and comes to the conclusion that neither the law of Nature nor the law of God allows their forcible conversion, whether they be subject to Christians or not.⁶ To slavery he has a passing

¹ *Profecta del Tajo*.

² *A Santiago*. His words 'el pueblo inculto y duro' in another poem must be taken to refer to the Galicians. In the same poem he speaks of the *bravo pecho* of the Spanish and of Spain as under the protection of heaven: 'cielos so cuyo amparo España está.'

³ *In Cantica Canticorum* (*Opera*, ii. 318): 'non quidem principum culpa aut consilio sed privatorum rapacitate et avaritia.' Cf. *Opera*, v. 391: 'ali-quot hominum scelere et avaritia.'

⁴ Sá de Miranda graphically describes how society had turned turtle in the first half of the sixteenth century.

⁵ *Opera*, ii. 451-2.

⁶ *Opera*, v. 385 et seq.

allusion in his lectures *De Charitate*,¹ and remarks elsewhere that 'slavery, especially to the free-born, is worse than death'.² That he should have agreed that the use of force in the New World could scarcely be avoided is the more significant because, like Vitoria, he hated war and despised those who waged it unnecessarily. Is it of so great valour to kill mortal men and knock down castles? he exclaims.³ Although he might condemn the method employed⁴, Luis de Leon was evidently proud of the discovery and conquest of the New World. The ships of Spain discovered those unknown lands, he says, and he speaks of the 'diligence of our men'.⁵ 'If we examine the whole history of the past we will find nothing greater or more unexpected than that which happened in the time of our fathers, when the Spanish, crossing the vasty deep, discovered a new world not smaller, perhaps much larger, than the Empire of Rome. For no one believed in the existence of realms so spacious, and if any suspected it no one believed that they were regions habitable by man.' He considered that this discovery had been reserved from all time for the Spanish. He sees it prophesied in the Book of Job, in Obadiah,⁶ and above all in the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah.⁷ Leon

¹ *Opera*, vi. 432: 'Ratio dubitandi est quia servus quidquid habet est domini sui.' Huarte (*Bib. Aut. Esp.* t. lxxv, p. 469) notices that 'no hay peores costumbres ni condiciones que las de los esclavos.'

² *In Canticum Moysis Expositio* (*Opera*, i. 92).

³ *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. ii, p. 24: '¿Tan grande valentía es dar muerte a los mortales y derrocar los alcaçares, que ellos de suyo se caen?' Cf. ib. pp. 25-30.

⁴ *Opera*, iii. 160, 166, 167; v. 392: 'Hispaniae homines auri cupiditate incitati, in novum orbem progressi, quoscumque infideles inveniunt invitos nonnunquam et repugnantes in Ecclesiam pertraxerunt'. Cf. *Opera*, ii. 319: 'infinita edita strage hominum, totisque non modo populis sed gentibus etiam ad interuentionem deletis.' Sepúlveda as well as Las Casas and others had protested in similar terms. It would be as true to say that the rights of the natives were first upheld by Spanish theologians as, with Leopardi, to maintain the contrary: 'fu sostenuto, massimamente da' teologi spagnuoli, che, in quanto a diritti, fossero per natura e per volontà divina di gran lunga inferiori a noi.'

⁵ 'Tierras encubiertas y no sabidas y tenidas por inaccesibles hasta la edad de nuestros abuelos, en que las naves de España las descubrieron' (*Exposicion de Job*, ix. 9); 'de sus cualidades y de otras cosas secretas que ha descubierto en él [the New World] la diligencia de nuestros hombres' (ib. xxviii. 5). Cf. xxviii. 4 ('los Españoles que entre todas las naciones se señalan en peregrinar') and *Opera*, iii. 161: 'audaci studio atque arte'. The Spanish, he says, are the most skilled sailors in the world: 'artis nauticae omnium mortalium peritissimi' (ib. p. 159).

⁶ *In Abdiām, Opera*, iii. 156.

⁷ *Expos. de Job*, xxviii. 4 and xxxvii. 9; Obadiah 13 (=20). See *Opera* iii. 156-168.

de Castro, Foreiro, Frei Heitor Pinto and other Spanish and Portuguese commentators had not noticed this.¹ Luis de Leon has some fascinating pages on the subject and after mentioning the voyages of Columbus, Magalhães, and Gama, proves very ingeniously that the Spanish was the predestined people, 'although whether it is to be envied or pitied on that account would be no easy matter to decide.'² (He refrains from interpreting the words 'et omnes bestiae terrae super illam hyemabunt' of the French, the Dutch, and the English.³ In a curious passage⁴ he records that the revenue from the mine of Potosi during forty years (1545-85) amounted to 7,215 million *reales*, and this, as he adds characteristically, without taking account of false returns.) Although Fray Luis seems to have thought that the end of the world was approaching⁵ he did not, like Fray Juan de Salazar, believe that the Spanish was to be the last great world empire (if it could even be said to exist, as against that of the Turks), escaping the rule of alternating prosperity and decay.⁶

¹ 'A nemine quod sciam hactenus in hanc sententiam sunt expositae' (*Opera*, iii. 657); Frei Francisco Foreiro (*Iesaiæ Prophetæ vetus & noua ex Hebraico versio*, Venetiis, 1563) in dealing with Chapter xviii says: 'Ego simplicissimam interpretationem toto huic capiti, difficultatibus alioqui referatissimo, conabor afferre', and does not allude to the conquests and discoveries. Nor did Frei Heitor Pinto in his *Commentaria in Isaiam* (Lugduni, 1561).

² *Opera*, iii. 160.

³ From another passage we gather that he regarded these heretic kingdoms as an instrument of Providence to prove and improve Spain: 'para por su medio dellos traer a perfeccion las piedras que edifican su Iglesia' (*De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. ii, p. 126).

⁴ *Exposicion de Job*, xxviii. 10: 'que como se sabe por cuenta cierta, de las minas de sólo un cerro que llaman Potosi en el Peru hasta el año de ochenta y cinco desde el de cuarenta y cinco, que son cuarenta años escasos, ha valido su quinto ciento y once millones de pesos de a trece reales cada uno. Por manera que ha dado en este espacio de tiempo quinientos y cincuenta y cinco millones, sin lo que se hurta al registro.'

⁵ e.g. *Opera*, iii. 166.

⁶ In *Abdiam*, *Opera*, iii. 72: 'quandoque aut unius populi aut gentis universae republica ad summum felicitatis pervenit, relabi continuo ipsam et referri retro ac propriorem [*sic*] ruinae esse.' (Cf. Bacon, *Essays*: 'for when a state grows to an overpower it is like a great flood that will be sure to overflow, as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain and others'.) Cf. In *Ecclesiastem*, *Opera*, i. 393: 'Nam Hebraeos vastarunt et captivos abduxerunt Babylonii, Hebraeis potentiores; Babylonios Persae everterunt, Persas Graeci, Graecos Romani; qui et ipsi a Gothis superati ad nihilum redacti sunt. Neque tamen id impune tulerunt Gothi, Mauris enim poenas pependerunt; quos certe paulo post et alii superabunt.' There is another interesting passage on world empires in *De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 116-120. As proof that after the empires of Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome, the Spanish Empire would be permanent, Salazar (*Politica Española* (1619), p.

In the last years of his life Luis de Leon had several interviews with King Philip. He probably first came prominently to the King's notice in 1568, when he strenuously opposed the candidature of Frei Heitor Pinto although the latter had the support of the King,¹ and thus gave offence to King Philip's favourite Order, the Hieronymites, who were already established at the Escorial, where they were in close touch with their convent at Salamanca² and in daily relations with the King. He must have had at least one interview with King Philip at Córdoba in 1570. Later, when Frei Heitor had fallen out of royal favour, the King would hear of Luis de Leon's fierce strictures, perhaps through his preacher, the Augustinian Villavicencio, while his championship of the authority of the Pope in the University of Salamanca must have been well known. It would have been interesting to watch the first meeting of the fiery denouncer of tyrants and the lord of half the world. Cabrera speaks of King Philip's majestic glance; but in this case one thinks it would have been inclined to quail before the searching green eyes of the Augustinian friar, which even in the cold reproduction of Pacheco's portrait retain something of their keenness. No need for the King to set him at his ease with a *Sosegaos!* Yet we know that Luis de Leon, if he went to the King with the intention of speaking plainly, approached him in a spirit of loyalty as he entered the Madrid palace, which outwardly had somewhat the appearance of a dungeon but was all gold and Titians within.³ However much his soul might revolt against adulation,⁴ he readily granted the honour due to rank. Perhaps he had not forgotten that the King had allowed

326) interpreted the Bosphorus (Sepharad) of the prophecy (Obadiah, 20) as the Straits of Gibraltar ('no pueden ser entendidos sino los Catholicos Españoles habitantes del estrecho de Gibraltar'), thus unawares giving a loophole for the permanent Empire of yet another nation, the British. Of the Turks Luis de Leon says that the earth trembles at the might of their power (*De los Nombres de Cristo*, ii. 58). Cf. ii. 113: 'el imperio de los turcos y de los moros que agora floreçe.'

¹ Cf. Getino, *Vida y Procesos*, p. 123.

² In 1568, for instance, Fray Juan de San Jerónimo came from the Convent of La Vitoria at Salamanca to the Escorial.

³ Cf. *De los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i (1914), pp. 68-9: 'Porque si cualquiera que entra en algun palacio,' &c.

⁴ *Oratio Funeris* (*Opera*, vii. 404): 'veritatis dicendae atque tuendae quam regum favorem mendaciis (ut fit nunc) et assentatione promerendi studium.'

him to moulder during fifty-six months in the cells of the Inquisition;¹ probably he considered the King mistaken on many points, and constantly misinformed, and disapproved of the centralized administration, the continual delays, and the steady drain on the country's resources. Yet the two men had much in common. Both greatly honoured truth and never forgave deceit in others; both were lovers of music and poetry, learning and literature, and they could sympathize in their devotion to Spain and to Castille. But King Philip was jealous of his authority, and with the man who showed himself so ready to challenge that authority he must have kept strictly to the matter in hand without revealing the more genial side of his character.

¹ ' Ma nessuna cosa [in the Inquisition] è però determinata senza la partecipazione e l'espresso ovver tacito assenso del re ', says the Venetian Ambassador Leonardo Donato in 1573. (Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, vol. iv, Apéndice, p. 416.)

APPENDIX A
LYRICS OF LUIS DE LEON

I. *Ode to Salinas* *

CALM grows the air around,
Arrayed in beauty and unwonted light,
Salinas, at the sound
Of music exquisite
That thy skilled hand doth cunningly indite.

ii

And at that sound divine
My soul that in forgetfulness hath lain
With a new light doth shine
And unto memory plain
Of its first splendid origin attain.

iii

For this new knowledge then
Its nobler thoughts and destiny restores :
Of gold, vain lure of men,
Which the blind crowd adores,
The perishable beauty it ignores.

iv

Up through the fields of air
It wings, till in the highest sphere it dwells,
And a new music there
It hears, music that wells
Undying and all other kinds excels.

v

The great Master there it sees,
His hand upon the mighty lyre, with train
Of skilful cadences,
Create the holy strain
That this eternal temple doth sustain.

vi

And since in sweet concert
Those numbers flow symphonious, reply
Concordant is soon sent,
And both together vie
In a mixed power of softest harmony.

* See *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 78. This version originally appeared in *The Athenaeum*.

vii

Through sea of melody
In rapture sweet the soul doth onward glide,
And sinks there finally,
Until whate'er betide
Beyond it to its senses is denied.

viii

O heavenly ravishment !
Life-giving death, oblivion's sweet defence !
O might my life be spent
In thy calm rest, nor thence
Ever return to this vile earthly sense !

ix

To such bliss I entreat
You, glory of Apollo's sacred choir,
O friend[s] for whom doth beat
My heart beyond desire
Of treasures that bring tears and sorrows dire.

x

O evermore to hear
Thy heavenly music, Salinas, be mine !
Through whom awaking clear
To holy thoughts incline
The senses, to all else dull and supine.

II. *The Ascension* *

i

O SHEPHERD, dost Thou leave
Thy flock in this deep vale of tears obscure
In loneliness to grieve,
While Thou to Heaven's refuge sure
Ascendest through the air serene and pure ?

ii

They who before were blest
And now are wrapped in sadness and in grief,
Who leaned upon Thy breast,
In Thee all their belief,
Where without Thee may they now seek relief ?

iii

What shall their eyes behold
Who looked upon the beauty of Thy face
That shall not leave them cold ?
After Thy lips' sweet grace
What will not worthless seem to them and base ?

* *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 84.

iv

Who now the raging sea
 Shall curb or unto silent peace allay
 The winds' wild revelry?
 Without Thy guiding ray
 What star shall steer the ship upon its way?

v

Even of this brief delight,
 Cruel and envious cloud, dost thou complain?
 Whither so swift thy flight?
 How rich is now thy gain!
 How poor and blind are we who here remain!

III. *Prophecy of the Tagus* *

i

As by the river's side
 In Cava's arms most fair was dallying
 Rodrigo unespied,
 Old Tagus saw this thing
 And raised his head and spake unto the King:

ii

Thy joy may sorrow seize,
 Base ravisher, for lo, fell voices' sound
 I hear, yea and with these
 Arms and the cry profound
 Of Mars, with fever and with fury crowned.

iii

What anguish in its train
 Thy mirth brings and the mirth of her so fair,
 Born only for our bane,
 To Spain, ah! what despair,
 To the Goth's ancient throne woes past repair!

iv

Wars, flames and misery,
 Death, desolation, many a dreadful ill,
 Within thine arms now lie,
 And woes unending still
 Thy life and all thy subjects' lives shall fill;

v

They who the fertile soil
 Of Constantina till, or by the flood
 Of Ebro dwell; the toil
 Sansueña¹ shall include,
 Broad Spain and Portugal shall in sadness brood.

* *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 80.

¹ Sansueña is Zaragoza. Cf. Tirso de Molina, *La Santa Juana*, Pt. II, Act I, sc. v.

VI

And lo, the injured Count
From Cádiz, all his thoughts with vengeance crossed,
Honour of no account,
Calls the barbarian host
For whom is no delay, even to thy cost.

VII

Listen, for to the sky,
With fearful blare that doth to arms invite,
Rings the proud trumpet's cry,
And Afric's Moorish might
To the banner calls that flutters in their sight.

VIII

Now brandishes his lance
The cruel Arab, shrill in the wind calls he,
Inciting to advance
To battle: instantly
An innumerable throng of men I see.

IX

Armies obscure the ground,
The sea is hidden by a host of sails,
And unto heaven a sound
Confused and strange prevails,
A cloud of dust the day in darkness veils.

Ah see! the hurrying throng
Now enters the long ships. Ah see! they turn
Arms vigorous and strong
To the rowing and now churn
The sea to foam that their oars roughly spurn.

XI

A favouring East wind blows
And fills the sails, and Neptune upon these
With trident strong bestows,
For the fleet's greater ease,
An entrance wide through Straits of Hercules.

XII

And dost thou linger still
In those arms falsely soft, nor instantly
Meetest the coming ill?
Poor king, dost thou not see
How in yon harbour lands the enemy?

xiii

Up, hasten, thither fly,
The lofty mountains cross, and in the plain
Ply spur inexorably,
And in thy hand amain
Brandish unceasing the sword's cruel bane.

xiv

Alas, what toil is here !
What sweat and labour unto all decreed
Who the mailed armour wear,
He who wins valour's meed,
In medley dense the rider and the steed !

xv

Betis divine, with blood,
Thine own and alien, stained thy stream shall soon
Enrich the Ocean flood,
With many a helmet strewn
And many a noble's corse in pieces hewn.

xvi

Five days doth Mars divide,
Raging, the hosts in battle's disarray,
Nor favours either side ;
Alas ! on the sixth day
He the barbarian's yoke doth on my country lay.

IV. *Night of Stars**

i

WHEN I behold the sky
With stars innumerable spangled bright
And then the Earth descry
Encompassèd with night,
Buried in sleep, oblivion infinite,

ii

Sorrow and love arise
And with a burning fever fill my breast,
And ever from mine eyes
The tears flow without rest,
Till my tongue speaks at length, by grief oppressed :

iii

O dwelling of great might,
Temple of lovely light incomparable,
My soul that to thy height
At birth aspired, what spell
Doth in this dark, low prison-house compel ?

* *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 81.

iv

What mortal folly thus
From truth's possession can remove our sense,
So that, oblivious
Of thy blest gifts, it thence
Strays and seeks tinselled joys and vain pretence?

Man lives imprisonèd
In sleep and recks not of his destiny,
While still with silent tread,
At Heaven's swift decree,
Hour after hour his life doth from him flee.

vi

Ah mortal men, awake
And turn your thoughts intent upon your loss!
Shall souls divine forsake
Such blessings for the cross
Of life unreal and dull delusion's dross?

vii

O skyward lift your eyes,
Unto this heavenly eternal sphere!
And you will then despise
The vain delights that here
Offers our life, its every hope and fear;

viii

Petty, if we compare
The fleeting span of this low earthly scene
With that great region where
In noblest forms are seen
What is and what shall be and what hath been.

ix

Who sees the eternal fires
With fixèd laws move on their heavenly way,
How each with each conspires:
Uneven their array,
Yet, varying, they one ordered scheme obey;

How in the moon's clear train,
As she her silver sphere doth onward move,
Goes light of wisdom's rain,
And, gleaming there above,
Follows, serenely fair, the star of love;

xi

But blood-red angry Mars
Chooses unto himself another way,
While, girt with thousand stars,
Jupiter, clear away,
Benignly calms the heavens with his loved ray ;

xii

And yonder in the height
Whirls Saturn, father of the Age of Gold,
And after him the bright
Stars in fair choir enrolled
Their light and all their treasure still unfold ;

xiii

Who may all this descry
And pleasure still in this vile Earth retain,
Who will not groan and sigh
To rive the imprisoning chain
Wherein, exiled from Heaven, his soul hath lain ?

xiv

Lo, here dwells sweet content,
Peace reigns, and on a rich and lofty throne
Sits holy love, and blent
Together in its zone
Delight and honour are evermore at one.

xv

Here beauty infinite
Unveils itself, and light, quintessence pure,
Transparent gleams : no night
Its radiance may obscure,
Spring's flowered splendour here is ever sure.

xvi

O fields of truth most fair !
O meadows verily ever fresh and bright !
Mines full of riches rare !
O fountains of delight !
Deep valleys with a thousand blessings dight !

V. *The Life Removed* *

i

How tranquil is the life
Of him who, shunning the vain world's uproar,
May follow, free from strife,
The hidden path, of yore
Chosen by the few who conned true wisdom's lore!

For he, with thoughts aloof,
By proud men's great estate is not oppressed,
Nor marvels at the roof
Of gold, built to attest
The Moor's skill and on jasper pillars rest.

iii

He heeds not though fame raise
His name, afar on wings of rumour flung,
He cares not for the praise
Of cunning flatterer's tongue,
Nor for what truth sincere would leave unsung.

iv

What boots it my content
That the vain voice of fame should favour me,
If in its service spent
I find myself to be
Vexed by dull care and gnawing misery?

O hill, O stream, O field,
O solitary refuge of delight,
Since my bark now must yield
To the storm, your solace bright
I seek and flee this sea's tempestuous might.

vi

Sleep broken by no fear
Be mine, and a day clear, serene, and free,
Shunning the look severe,
Lofty exceedingly,
Of him whom gold exalts or ancestry.

vii

Me may the birds awake
With their sweet, unpremeditated song,
And those dark cares forsake
That e'er to him belong
Who lives not in his independence strong!

* *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 77.

viii

I to myself would live,
To enjoy the blessings that to Heaven I owe,
Alone, contemplative,
And freely love forgo,
Nor hope, fear, hatred, jealousy e'er know.

ix

Upon the bare hillside
An orchard I have made with my own hand,
That in the sweet Springtide
All in fair flower doth stand
And promise sure of fruit shows through the land.

And, as though swift it strove
To see and to increase that loveliness,
From the clear ridge above
A stream pure, weariless,
Hurrying to reach that ground doth onward press;

xi

And straightway in repose
Its course it winds there tree and tree between,
And ever as it goes
The earth decks with new green
And with gay wealth of flowers spreads the scene.

xii

The air in gentle breeze
A myriad scents for my delight distils,
It moves among the trees
With a soft sound that fills
The mind, and thought of gold or sceptre kills.

xiii

Treasure and gold be theirs
Who to a frail bark would entrust their life:
I envy not the cares
Of those whose fears are rife
When the North wind with the South wind is at strife.

xiv

In the storm's strain the mast
Groans, and clear day is turned to eyeless night,
While to the skies aghast
Rise wild cries of affright
And they enrich the sea in their despite.

xv

But me may still suffice,
Rich only in meek peace, a humble fare;
And the wrought artifice
Be his of gold plate rare
Who dreads not o'er the raging sea to fare.

xvi

And while in misery
Others are pledged to fierce ambition's throng,
Afire insatiably
For power that stays not long,
May I in pleasant shade recite my song ;

xvii

Yea, lying in the shade,
My brow with ivy and bay immortal crowned,
My ear attentive made
To the soft, tuneful sound
Of zither touched by fingers' skill profound.

VI. *Autumn*

THE fields their loveliness
Withdraw : their pleasant green the air now grieves
With gloom most comfortless,
And leaf by leaf bereaves
The tree-tops of the foison of their leaves.

Now Phoebus must incline
Towards the Aegean glow, his swift descent
Through day's last hours doth shine ;
And now, malevolent,
The South wind unto us dense clouds hath sent.

iii

Ibycus' avenging bird
Lamenting now floats high upon the cloud
And its hoarse cry is heard ;
With necks to the yoke bowed
The furrow is by patient oxen ploughed.

iv

The season doth invite
To noble study, and the call of fame,
Grial, to that hill's height
Whose sacred haunts acclaim
But him who woos them with no slothful flame.

v

Turn not aside, but train
 Thy steps to breast the hill and be the first
 The wishèd height to gain,
 And, in no cares immersed,
 Where the spring wells most purely quench thy thirst.

vi

Care not that the unwise,
 In lust for gold all eagerly adrift,
 Pursue a foolish prize :
 Even than the wind more swift
 Will vanish their content, and fleet and shift.

vii

Write what Apollo true
 Favouring inspires, since the old style may be
 Even nobler than the new ;
 And ah! dear friend, of me
 Think not thy steps I may accompany.

viii

For me a treacherous blast,
 Suddenly assailing in a whirlwind dire,
 From out the way has cast
 To the depths, and my loved lyre
 Has broken and the wings of my desire.

IVI. *The Heavenly Life*

FAIR realm of radiant light,
 O meadow of the blest, that neither hail
 Nor lightning-flash may blight,
 But solace without fail
 Springing from richest soil doth e'er prevail.

ii

With purple flowers and white
 His head is crowned as, onward journeying,
 To pastures of delight,
 With neither crook nor sling,
 The Good Shepherd his loved flock in thee doth bring.

iii

He goes, and after him
Follow the happy sheep: their pasturage
Are flowers that wax not dim,
But their desire assuage
And cropped still suffer neither change nor age.

iv

In the blest mountain's fold
He guides, and zealous for their welfare goes,
Bathes them in waters cold
And plenteous fare bestows,
The Pastor-Pasture whence all blessing flows.

v

When in the highest sphere
The sun to the heaven's zenith doth attain,
His flock around him here
Resting, will he sustain
His sacred ear's delight with music's strain.

vi

Immortal ecstasy
The soul drinks as he strikes the sounding lyre,
Gold is mere mockery
In this consuming fire
Of endless blessings that outrun desire.

vii

O voice! O music! might
But some faint strain descend into my sense
In transports of delight,
That my soul journeying hence
Might lose itself in thee, O love immense!

viii

Ah, then would it indeed,
Belovèd, know thy noontide resting-place!
And win, from prison freed
Of suffering, to thy grace,
Nor ever from thy fold its steps retrace.

VIII. *Ode to Retirement* *

At length, O harbour sure,
From my long wandering wished refuge blest,
Thou my grave ills shalt cure,
Now past, and sweetest rest
Afford most joyous, by no fears oppressed.

* *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 82.

ii

A thatched roof where no care
Unfriendly ever finds a dwelling-place,
Nor envy, lurking there,
Appears in a friend's face,
Nor perjured word nor any witness base.

iii

Fair, mountain, is thy rest,
Whose lofty ridge to the high heaven aspires,
Ne'er in the plain possessed,
Where the blind crowd desires
A life which is but death in living fires.

iv

Receive me in thy height,
Receive me : from the hostile, erring host
Of men I take my flight,
And from vain labour lost,
False peace by unjust sufferings ever crossed.

v

Where most serene the air
Set me, that I may cure me on thy side
Of bane that unaware
I drank, by men supplied,
That from all stain my breast be purified.

vi

In thee, if I may doff,
Almost, this bodily presence and the weight
Of custom quite put off,
Most joyfully elate,
In peace and living light, shall be my state.

vii

From thee, as I incline
My pitying eyes towards the prostrate sea,
I will observe the tine
Of that sad company
That fends the salt waves in its misery.

viii

For one who joyously
Even now approached the port, his goal so near,
Meets adverse winds, and he
His dismantled ship must steer
Far out upon the deep with many a fear ;

IX

And one on sunken reef
 Shatters the bark that to the sea's depth hies
 Forthwith in instant brief;
 Becalmed another lies,
 Another in the quicksands sinks and dies.

X

Others in a clear day
 By sudden shower see their hopes beguiled:
 They Neptune's greed allay,
 To gold's loss reconciled;
 Another, swimming, shuns death's onset wild.

XI

He strives courageously,
 But how may one poor shipwrecked wight swim far,
 Whose boat is prey of the sea,
 Or, lashed to a frail spar,
 Struggle against the immense deep's furious war?

XII

Again and yet again,
 O thou sure anchorage long-sought, I choose
 Thy shelter to attain,
 Even though I straightway lose
 All that blind folly treasures and pursues

 IX. *Avarice**

PORTUGAL'S ships in vain
 Plough the wide seas; for not Moluccas' spice
 Nor gold of Persian main
 Can with false lure entice
 Whom sweet content without riches doth suffice.

For India brings no rest
 Unto man's heart, nor can the emerald rare,
 Philip, our woes arrest,
 But wrinkled with more care
 Is he who holds of wealth a larger share.

III

The Persian treasure left
 The Roman's thirst unsatisfied, nay first
 Him of his life bereft,
 And Tantalus, immersed
 In waters deep, is evermore athirst.

* Cf. Ronsard's ode *Contre les Avaricieux*.

iv

Such thirst and even worse
 Befalls the muser everlastingly
 Toiling, who fast his purse
 Keeps closed, to cross the sea
 Most bold, not bold in generosity.

v

For what avails for me
 The hoarded gold that murders gentle sleep,
 If 'tis but slavery
 And clouded still doth keep
 Its owner's brow, poor though he treasure heap?

X. *On leaving prison* *

FALSEHOOD and hatred here
 Held me in prison pent :
 Happy whose life is spent
 In learning's humble sphere,
 Far from the world malevolent ;
 He, with poor house and fare,
 Communing with God alone,
 Doth in the country fair
 Dwell solitary, there
 By none envied, envying none.

XI. *Epitaph on Prince Carlos*

EVEN in this tomb of Charles lie the remains,
 His nobler part ascended to the skies :
 With it went valour, and the Earth retains
 Fear in its heart and sorrow in its eyes.

XII. *The Siren's Song*

LET no gilt cup deceive
 Thy sense : though at the brim sweet honey lure,
 Untouched the beaker leave,
 Drain not the dregs impure
 And bitter draught that in the cup is sure.

* *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 85.

ii

Thy hand too generous stay
And pause in doubt, for lo, that lily white,
That red rose that can sway
The senses with delight,
Once touched pierces the soul with poison's blight.

iii

Advance not : in the field
That solaces our eyes with flowers fair
Lie deadly snakes concealed,
And where most pleasant, there
Lurks secretly the danger and the snare.

iv

For lo, thy spring is past,
And a maturer age demands alway
True glory that shall last ;
Ah ! leave the brutish clay
And on firm ground and dry thy footsteps stay,

v

Ere Circe with deceit
Thy heart shall ravish and its sense control
With cup of poison sweet,
Lest she transform thy soul
And thee among her herd of brutes enroll.

vi

Of those who come there none,
Unless he safe in Heaven's blessing fare,
This vile affront may shun,
To rage as angry bear
Or as a wild boar groaning in despair.

vii

In thy wit set no trust,
But let the wise king for thy guidance stand,
For valour bites the dust,
And by a woman's hand
Was a sad end for Gaza's victor planned.

viii

That noble Greek of old
Changed not his ship's course, in his wisdom strong,
For the fell prayer and bold
Of the bland Siren's song,
So that ten thousand years his fame prolong.

ix

She spake, and at the sound
 Sweet music swayed the air: 'Thy sail incline
 That now on high is bound
 Before the wind malign,
 Of all the Greeks, Ulysses, light divine.

x

'Draw near, that even so
 A respite to thy ceaseless care thou bring,
 And, curious, thou shalt know
 A thousand tales I sing,
 For every passing sailor doth this thing.

xi

'For whatsoe'er Earth hold
 We know, and unto thee the fierce war of Troy
 In song will we unfold,
 And Troy's fall, when in joy
 Of battle Greeks and Gods the town destroy.'

xii

Burning in cruelty,
 Treacherous she sang, but he with prudent skill
 Her voice inexorably
 Kept from its purpose still,
 And with soft wax the sailors' ears doth fill.

xiii

If she to thee appear
 Be wisely blind, and if to thee she call
 Stop thou with wax thine ear;
 In her hands cloak and all
 Leave: but by flight may'st thou avoid a fall.

XIII. *Constancy and Moderation*

i

How slender is the worth
 Of all the sun sees, whether it set or rise,
 Wealth that in Ind has birth
 And what the East supplies,
 Riches for which the vile throng toils and dies!

ii

For one, who anxiously
 Riches acquires to leave unto his heir,
 Lives in harsh poverty:
 Himself he does not spare,
 But spares expense, however ill he fare.

III

Another, all athirst
For power, blindly ceases to be free :
That he may rise, he first
Entreats most miserably
And sacrifices all his liberty.

IV

He who of two bright eyes
Or lock of gold hair is enamoured
With myriad miseries
Buys one hour swiftly sped,
Brief joy for which are tears unceasing shed.

Happy is he who wise,
Philip, restrains himself : for life's joy then
He on himself relies,
Considering alien
All that lies not within his own heart's ken.

vi

And if the day shine clear,
Or if a furious wind becloud the sky,
His courage will not veer,
And if a mountain high
Strike him it has no power to do him injury ;

vii

Even as a gnarled oak
On a high knoll is of its branches reft
By axe's mighty stroke,
And seems all lifeless left,
But gains new strength beneath the blade that cleft ;

viii

Vain your attempts : he grows
Stronger even than of old, still flourishing
In conflict with his foes,
And to the ground will fling
Him who the victor's song had thought to sing.

ix

Of Fortune unafraid,
He lives with quiet mind in her despite,
And stands all undismayed
In the fell tyrant's sight,
Though cruel sword and fire arm his might ;

Saying : ' Prepare thy fire,
Sharpen thy cruel sword ; advance with these
To sate thy hate's desire,
And if thou find me seize
And with this prey at last thy hunger blind appease.

xi

' Why stayest thou ? My breast,
Weak, naked, open, dost thou not behold ?
And yet thou tarriest :
Thy hand may never hold
The heart whose key can heaven and earth unfold.

xii

' Still deeper plunge thy knife
To search my very entrails, and insane
Pierce to the source of life,
Yet is thy labour vain :
Me thy weak, faltering hand shall ne'er attain.

xiii

' The chain that bound me, see,
Burning to make me prisoner, thou hast riven :
I fly aloft through thee,
Comfort thy wrong has given,
So that I freely tread the floor of heaven.'

XIV. *Ode to Felipe Ruiz*

WHEN from this prison drear,
Philip, may I take flight into the sky,
And in the farther sphere,
Above the Earth most high,
Pure truth without concealment may descry ?

ii

In my new life elate,
Converted into light of radiant sheen,
At one and separate,
What is and what hath been
Shall I see and its true origin unseen.

III

There 'twill be mine to see
How the divine power the foundations laid
With such skilled accuracy
That stable, undismayed,
Earth's heaviest element therein is stayed ;

IV

And there shall I behold
The pillars that prop Earth everlastingly,
The boundary-marks that hold
In check the angry sea,
In prison fixed for it by Heaven's decree ;

Why the Earth trembles, why
The waters of the deep sea rage and swell,
Whence in grim strife to vie
The North wind comes, what spell
Causes the Ocean waves to ebb and well ;

VI

Where rise the crystal springs,
And who to the great rivers' ceaseless flow
Their store of waters brings ;
Of icy cold and snow
And summer heat the causes I shall know ;

VII

Who in the air sustains
Water on high, the forge of lightning flash,
The dwelling of the rains
Shall I see, and how God's lash
Furls the treasured snow, and whence the thunders crash.

VIII

Look, on a summer day
When through the air a veil of grey is thrust,
Day's face grows dark in play
Of mad North-West wind's gust,
And lightly to the sky is whirled the dust ;

IX

God moves amid the cloud,
Guiding his aery chariot swift and bright,
With dreadful thunder loud
And flashing fire's light :
Men bow themselves, Earth trembles in affright.

x

The roofs are washed with rain,
And rushing streams pour down from all the hills :
At his lost labour vain
And the fields' flooded drills
The peasant's heart dismayed amazement fills.

xi

And thence uplifted, I
The motions shall behold of lofty Heaven,
All that moves naturally
And that by force is driven,
And to the signs and fates what cause is given ;

xii

And who the stars inspires
And kindles with a beauty radiant, clear,
Their efficacious fires ;
Why the Great and Little Bear
To bathe themselves in Ocean ever fear.

xiii

I shall see where the sun,
The light and fountain of our life, abides,
Why is so swiftly run
His course of wintertides,
And why in the long nights his ray he hides ;

xiv

Yea, in the highest sphere
Those dwellings of delight shall I behold :
Motionless they appear,
Fashioned of light and gold,
The mansions that the spirits blest enfold.

APPENDIX B

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II. WORKS REFERRING TO LUIS DE LEON

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- (26) MENDEZ (Francisco). Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de León, in *Revista Agustiniana*, vol. i (1881), pp. 58-64—vol. iii (1882), pp. 612-19.
- (30) MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO (Marcelino). Horacio en España. 2a ed. (1885), vol. i, pp. 29-30, &c.
- (29) ——— De la poesía mística, in *Estudios de crítica literaria*, ser. i (Madrid, 1884), pp. 46-51.
- (29 A) ——— Historia de las ideas estéticas en España. tom. ii (1884), pp. 155-7.
- (67) MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (Ramón). Una poesía inédita de Fray Luis de León, in *Revista de Filología Española*, vol. iv (1917), pp. 389-90.
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- (36) MIGUELEZ (Fray Manuel). Fr. Luis de León y el descubrimiento de América, in *Revista Agustiniana*, vol. xxx, pp. 167-84.
- (49) ——— Prólogo biográfico, in 17th ed. of *De los Nombres de Cristo*. Madrid, 7
- (41A) MOREL F[ATTO] (Alfred). Les Poésies de Fr. Luis de Leon, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, t. iii (1901).
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- (54) ——— El 'Decíamos ayer' de Fray Luis de León. Madrid, 1908.
- (55) ——— El 'Decíamos ayer' . . . y otros excesos, in *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. lxxviii (1909), p. 479—vol. lxxx, p. 177.
- (52) ——— De los Nombres de Cristo de Fr. Luis de Leon y del Bto. Alonso de Orozco, in *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xvi, pp. 464-74, 543-50.
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- (59) ——— Sobre la transmisión de la obra literaria de Fray Luis de León, in *Revista de Filología Española*, vol. ii (1915), pp. 217-57.
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- (71) RAS (M.). Fray Luis de León, in *Estudio* (Barcelona), vol. xxvi (1919), pp. 181-95.
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- (10) SALVÁ (Miguel) and SAINZ DE BARANDA (Pedro). *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. x; vol. xi, pp. 5-538 (Madrid, 1847).
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- (63) — La Universidad de Salamanca y Fr. Luis de León [1582] (Datos para la historia) ib., vol. vi (1916), pp. 92-102.
- (64) — Oposiciones de Fr. Luis de León a la Cátedra de Biblia [1579], ib., vol. vi (1916), pp. 192-209, 255-68, 325-37.
- (65) — Proceso original seguido ante el Maestrescuela [1560], ib., vol. vii (1917), pp. 86-94.
- (66) — Fr. Luis de León y los catedráticos de propiedad de la Universidad de Salamanca, ib., vol. viii (1917), pp. 10-27, 182-98, 257-67, 347-60, 412-24; vol. ix (1918), pp. 32-40, 98-108, 186-96, 263-74, 420-31; vol. x (1918), pp. 81-96; vol. xi (1919), pp. 16-30 (Apéndice, pp. 192-201, 237-46, 301-11); vol. xii (1919), pp. 11-20, 65-79, vol. xvii (1922), pp. 265-75; vol. xviii (1922), pp. 38-52, 161-75, 267-81; vol. xix (1923), pp. 39-56).
- (72) — *El Libro de Job* del P. M. Fr. Luis de León (Datos para una nota bibliográfica), ib., vol. xii (1919), pp. 132-47, 193-205.
- (73) — *El 'Libro de los Cantares' comentado por Fr. Luis de León*, ib., vol. xii, pp. 257-68.
- (74) — La Universidad de Salamanca y Fr. Luis de León [1577-78] (Datos para la historia), ib., vol. xii, pp. 328-37.
- (77) — La Universidad de Salamanca y Fr. Luis de León [1584-5], ib., vol. xiii (1920), pp. 5-21; [1586-7], pp. 133-43; [1587-9], pp. 261-72; vol. xiv (1920), pp. 17-29 [1589].
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- (78) — *Capítulo de la Provincia de Castilla en 1586*, ib., vol. xvi (1921), pp. 15-33.
- (79) — *Sobre una sustitución en Salamanca* [1566], ib., vol. xvi, pp. 140-56, 293-308.
- (80) — *El P. M. Basilio Ponce de León*, ib., vol. xvi, pp. 358-63.
- (85) — *De nueve nombres de Cristo*, ib., vol. xvii (1922), pp. 137-49.
- (86) — *Fr. Luis de León en libertad*, ib., vol. xix (1923), pp. 295-309; vol. xx (1923), pp. 23-37, 137-53, &c.
- (56) — *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*. Madrid, 1913 &c.
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- Opera. Ed. Fray Marcelino Gutiérrez. 7 vols. Salmanticae, 1891-95.
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- Obras selectas del Maestro Fray Luis de León, precedidas de su biografía por M. G. Ll. [Manuel González Llana], Madrid, 1868.
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- Prose selections, in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Antología de Prosistas Castellanos* (1917), pp. 158-77.
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- Poesías espirituales. Ed. F. Cerdá y Rico. Madrid, 1779.
- Poesías, in R. Fernández, *Colección de Poetas Españoles*, vol. x (1804)
- Poesías, in Quintana, *Poesías Selectas Castellanas*, vol. i (Madrid, 1830), pp. 62-77.
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- Obras poéticas propias de Fray Luis Ponce de León . . . recogidas y traducidas en alemán por C. B. Schluter y W. Storck (*Sämmtliche Originalgedichte*) [Spanish and German text]. Münster, 1853.
- German tr. of poems, in C. A. Wilkens, *Fray Luis de León* (1866), pp. 150-88.
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- Churton, *Poetical Remains* (London, 1876), pp. 242-7: 'Hymn to Christ Crucified.'
- Churton, *Góngora* (London, 1862), vol. ii, p. 245, 'The Starry Night'; p. 248, 'The Ascension.'

* This list unfortunately was completed before the publication (Dec. 1924) of M. Adolphe Coster's fuller bibliography in *Revue Hispanique*, t. lix (Oct. 1923).

¹ See also Coster, *Bibl.*, No. 78 bis: Eng. tr. J. Bowring (1824) of 'Cuando contemplo'. I have an unverified note of an Eng. tr. of the Prophecy of the Tagus, Cheltenham, 1823.

F. Lvysii Legionensis . . . In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis Explanatio (In Psalmum vigesimum sextum Explanatio), Salmanticae: Lucas à Junta, MDLXXX.

— Secunda editio ab ipso autore recognita. Salmanticae, 1582.

— 3rd ed. Salmanticae, 1589.

— Venetiis, 1604; Parisiis, 1608.¹

In Abdiam Prophetam (In Epistolam ad Galatas, etc.). Salmanticae, 1589. De vtriusque agni typici atque veri immolationis legitimo tempore. Salmanticae, 1590.²

— 2nd ed., 1592.

— Ed. Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon, 1604 and 1611

Oraciones tres, Matriti, 1792; Dueñas oration, ed. A. Coster, in *Revue Hispanique*, tom. I (1920), pp. 1-60.

De los Nombres de Cristo en dos libros. En Salamanca, en casa de Iuan Fernandez, MDLXXXIII.

De los Nombres de Cristo en tres libros. Segunda impression. Salamanca. Por los herederos de Mathias Gast, 1585 [1586].

De los Nombres de Cristo. Segunda impression. Barcelona. Juan Pablo Manescal, 1587 [332 ff].

— 3a impression. Salamanca. Guillelmo Foquel, MDLXXXVII.

— 4a impr. Salamanca. Iuan Fernandez, MDXCV.

— Quinta impression, en que va añadido el nombre de Cordero. Salamanca. Antonia Ramirez, MDCIII.

— 6th ed. Valencia. Benito Monfort, 1770.

— Valencia. Salvador Fauli, 1774.

— Madrid, 1779.

— 17th ed. Madrid, 1907.

— ed. Federico de Onís. 3 vols. Madrid, 1914, 1917, 1922 (Clásicos Castellanos).

— ed. Enrique de Mesa. 2 vols. Madrid, 1917 (Biblioteca Calleja).

Des Noms de Jésus-Christ dans la Sainte-Écriture: Œuvre capitale de Louis de Léon . . . traduite pour la première fois en français . . . par M. l'Abbé V. Postel. Lyon, 1862.³

La Perfecta Casada [with De los Nombres]. Salamanca, 1583, 1587, 1595, 1603.

— 2a ed. Çaragoça, 1584.

— Madrid, 1632 [First separate ed.].

— Sexta impr. [7th?]. Valencia, 1765.

— Valencia, 1773.

— Madrid, 1786.

— Madrid, 1799, 1819, 1872, 1877, 1882, etc.; Barcelona, 1884; Pontevedra, 1906.

— in *Colección de los mejores autores esp.*, vol. xlv (1847).

— ed. Elizabeth Wallace. Chicago, 1903 (The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago. Second series, vol. vi).

— ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín. Madrid, 1917 (Clásicos de la Literatura Española).

La Femme parfaite. French tr. M. l'Abbé Postel. Lyon, Paris, 1857.

L'Épouse parfaite. French tr. Jane Dieulafoy. Paris [1906].

Exposicion del Libro de Job. Madrid, 1779.

Traducion literal y declaracion del Cantar de Cantares. Salamanca, 1798.

El Perfecto Predicador. Span. tr. [probably not by Luis de Leon] of his *In Ecclesiastem Expositio* [first published in *Opera*, vol. I, 1891], in *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xi (1886), p. 340—vol. xiv (1887), p. 729 (ed. C. Muiños Sáenz).

¹ Also Parisiis, 1649 (Coster, Bibl., No. 38).

² Fr. tr. Gabriel Daniel, Paris, 1695 (Coster, Bibl., No. 44).

³ First ed. 1856 (Coster, Bibl., No. 100).

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

[* = Birth of; † = Death of.]

1500

*Contemporary Literature.*¹

Erasmus, *Collectanea Adagiorum* (Parisiis).
 Jeronimo Pardo, *Medulla Dialectices* (Parisiis).
Proverbios de Seneca (Seuilla) [new ed.].
 Antonio Garcia de Villalpando, *Instruccion de la Vida Christiana*.
 Juan de la Cosa, *Carta de Marear de las Indias*.

Contemporary Events

Bishop of Cuenca founds Colegio Mayor de Santiago (de Cuenca) at Salamanca.
 Bull of Pope Alexander VI confirms foundation of Valencia University.
 Gaspar de Corte Real discovers Labrador.
 Pedro Alvarez Cabral discovers Brazil.
 *Charles V at Ghent.
 *Cellini.
 *Gomez Pereira.
 *Alonso de Orozco.
 *Joachim Camerarius.
 †Sandro Botticelli.
 †Bartholomeu Diaz.
 1500? *Juan de Avila.
 1500? *Francisco de Moraes.
 c. 1500 *Fernam Lopez de Castanheda.

1501

Pedro Ciruelo, *Arte de bien confesar* (Zaragoza).
Proverbios de D. Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza (Lisbona) [new ed.].
 Tulio de Officijs. Span. tr. (Seuilla).
Poetae Christiani. 2 vols. (Venetiis).
Libro del esforçado caballero don Tristan de Leonis (Valladolid).
Enzina, Todas las obras (Sevilla).

Centenary of foundation of Colegio de San Bartolomé at Salamanca.
 (Nov. 14) Marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon.
 *Jérôme Cardan.

¹ This list began with a few books such as might have interested Luis de Leon. Others were added later, but of course it makes no pretence to be complete.

1502

Contemporary Literature

- Erasmus, *Encheiridion Militis Christiani*.
 Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* (Venezia).
 Juan de Celaya, *Expositio in VIII libros Physicorum Aristotelis* (Paris).
 Baptistae Mantuani *Opuscula* (Paris); *Omnia opera* (Bononiae).
 Aldine editions of Sophocles, Thucydides, Herodotus, Catullus, Dante.

Contemporary Events

- Vasco da Gama's second voyage to India.
 Columbus discovers Honduras.
 Foundation of Wittenberg University.
 Cortes at Toledo swear allegiance to Philip and Juana.
 *João III.
 *Damião de Goes.

1503

- Pragmaticas del Reyno (Alcalá).
 Ambrosio Calepino's *Dictionary* [1st ed.].
 Aldine ed. of Euripides.

- †Alexander VI.
 †Pius III.
 Accession of Julius II.
 Gonzalo de Cordoba defeats the French at Cerignola.
 King of Spain becomes King of Naples.
 Portuguese factory established at Antwerp.
 *Garci Lasso de la Vega.
 *Robert Estienne.
 *Sir Thomas Wyatt.
 *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.
 *Bartolomé de Carranza at Miranda.

1504

- Obras de San Juan Clímaco. Span. tr. (Toledo).
 Aldine ed. of Demosthenes.

- Foundation of University at Santiago de Compostela.
 *Fray Luis de Granada.
 †Queen Isabella the Catholic.

1505

- J. Wimpheling, *Defensio Germaniae*.
Cancionero de todas las obras de Juan del Enzina (Burgos).
 Scala Coeli de Sant Hieronymo (Sevilla).
 Bembo, *Gli Asolani*.

- D. Francisco de Almeida becomes first Viceroy of India.
 Chancery (High Court of Justice) established at Granada, corresponding to that of Valladolid for the North of Spain.
 *Antonio de Gouvêa.
 *John Knox.

1506

- Erasmus, *Adagia*. 2nd ed. (Paris).
 Agustín Pérez de Olivares, *In Posteriora Aristotelis* (Paris).
 Joannes Dullaert (or Dullard), *Quaestiones super octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis* (Paris).

- Massacre of Jews at Lisbon. (Sept. 25) †King Philip at Burgos.
 *Infante Luis de Portugal.
 *San Francisco Xavier.
 *George Buchanan.
 *Jeronimo Osorio.

1506 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Speculum Stultorum, seu Monachus animal stolidum, &c. (Parisiis).
 Il Chariteo, Rime.
 Fray Bartolomé de Molina, Arte de canto llano (Valladolid).
 J Reuchlin, De rudimentis hebraicis.

Contemporary Events

- †Andrea Mantegna.
 †Columbus (May 31).

1507

- Gaspar Lax de Sariñena, Tractatus Exponibilium Propositionum (Parisiis).
 Luis Coronel, Tractatus de formatione syllogismorum (Parisiis).
 Diego Perez de Valencia, Cantica Canticorum Salamonis, cum expositione disertissima, &c. (Parisiis).

- (May) Ximenes created Cardinal. Ximenes becomes Grand Inquisitor. University founded at Barcelona. Cloister of Sigüenza Cathedral finished
 *Honorato Juan.
 *Annibale Caro.
 †Fray Hernando de Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada.

1508

- Erasmus, Adagiorum Chiliades [3rd ed. of the Adagia] (Venetiis).
 G. Budaeus, Annotationes (in Pandectas) (Parisiis).
 Pedro Ciruelo, Sphaerae Mundi Commentarium (Parisiis).
 Montalvo, Los Quatro Libros de Amadis de Gaula (Çaragoça).
 Cancionero de Iuan de Luzon (Çaragoça) [contains Span. tr. of the Miserere].
 Robert Henryson, Orpheus and Eurydice.

- Cardinal Ximenes inaugurates Alcalá University.
 Michael Angelo at work in the Sistine Chapel.
 Annales I-VI of Tacitus discovered.
 Colegio de Santa María founded at Salamanca.
 *Daurat.
 *Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla.

1509

- Erasmus, Encomium Moriae.
 Antonio Coronel, Quaestiones Logicae (Parisiis).
 Gaspar Lax de Sariñena, De syllogismis (Parisiis).
 La Philosophia moral de Aristoteles (Zaragoza).
 Fray Jeronimo de Alcocer, Subida de Monte Sion (Valencia).

- League of Emperor Maximilian, France, and Portugal against Venice.
 Cardinal Ximenes captures Oran.
 Afonso de Albuquerque succeeds Almeida as Governor of India.
 Vives goes to Paris from Valencia.
 Accession of Henry VIII. His marriage to Catherine of Aragon.
 *Jean Calvin.
 *Melchor Cano.
 *Miguel Servet.
 *Étienne Dolet.
 *Luis de Morales.
 †Philippe de Commines.
 1509-11 Erasmus in England.

1510

Contemporary Literature

- Antonio de Lebrija, *De litteris et declinatione graeca*.
 Los v. libros de Seneca (Toledo), new ed.
 Las Epistolas de Seneca (Toledo).
 Tragedie Senece (Venetiis).
 Petrarca, *Remedios contra prospera y adversa fortuna*. Span. tr. Francisco Fernandez de Madrid (Valladolid).
 Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*.
 1510? *Las Sergas de Esplandian*.

Contemporary Events

- Albuquerque captures Goa.
 Colegio de San Tomas Cantariense founded at Salamanca.
 Pedro Ciruelo returns from Paris and becomes Professor of Theology at Alcalá.
 *San Francisco de Borja.
 *Ambroise Paré.
 *Furió Ceriol.
 *Antonio Cabezon.
 †Giorgione.
 †Pedro Navarro.
 †D. Francisco de Almeida.
 c. 1510 *Fernam Mendez Pinto.

- Antonio Coronel, *Tractatus exponibilium et fallaciarum* (Parisiis).
 Hernando del Castillo, *Cancionero de muchos y diuersos autores* (Valencia).
 Palmerín de Oliva (Salamanca).
 Geyler von Kaysersberg, *Naviculum Penitentiae* (Augsburg).
 Boccaccio, *Cayda de Principes*. Span. tr. (Toledo).
 Boecio de Consolacion (Sevilla).
 Vitruvius [Illustrated] (Venetiis).

- Holy League between King Ferdinand, the Pope, and Venice against France.
 Albuquerque captures Malaca.
 Enfants Sans Souci act at Paris *Le Jeu du Prince des Sots et la Mère Sotte* [satire against Rome].
 *Amato Lusitano.

1512

- Luis de Leon's great-grandmother Leonor de Villanueva and her sister Juana Rodriguez 'reconciled' in an *auto de fe* at Cuenca (April 18).
 Lebrija, *Opuscula quaedam* (Burgos).
 Gaspar Lax de Sariñena, *De obligatione* (Parisiis).
 Juan Dolz del Castellar, *Disceptationes*, etc. (Parisiis).
 Jacques le Fèvre, *S. Pauli epistolae xiv ex vulgata editione*, etc. [criticizing and correcting the Vulgate].
 Primaleon.
 Carlos Fernandez, *De animi tranquillitate*.
 J. Wimpfeling, *De vita et moribus episcoporum*, etc. (Strasburg).
 Petrarca, *Trionfi*. Span. tr. Antonio de Obregon.
 Prudentius, ed. Lebrija.
 Martin Fernandez de Figueroa, *Conquista de las Indias de Portugal*, etc. (Salamanca).
 (April 11) Battle of Ravenna.
 †Gaston de Foix.
 Dean Colet inaugurates St. Paul's School.
 Colegio Militar de Calatrava founded at Salamanca.
 Don Diego Ramirez de Haro Visitor of Salamanca University.
 New Christians attempt to secure the publication of names of witnesses in Inquisition trials.
 Juan Ponce de Leon discovers Florida.
 Gaspar Corrêa goes to India.
 *Infante Henrique.
 *Adrien Turnèbe.
 *Geronimo de Zurita.
 *Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva.
 †Amerigo Vespucci.

1513

Contemporary Literature

- Statutes of Alcalá University.
 Erasmus, Silva Carminum.
 Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, *Obra de Agricultura* (Alcalá).
 Luis Correa, *La Conquista de Navarra* (Toledo).
 Cancionero de las obras de dō Pedro Māuel de Urrea (Logroño).
 Libro del esforçado cauallero Partinoples (Alcalá).
 Aldo Manuzio's edition of Plato's Works (Venice).
 Poggii Florentini Opera (Argentinae).
 Apuleius, *Golden Ass.* Span. tr., Diego Lopez de Cortegana (Sevilla).

Contemporary Events

- †Julius II.
 Accession of Leo X.
 Albuquerque fails in attack on Aden.
 King Ferdinand visits Alcalá University.
 Building of new Cathedral begun at Salamanca.
 Convent of Ursulas founded at Salamanca.
 Balboa discovers the Pacific.
 Machiavelli writes *Il Principe*.
 *Ambrosio de Morales.
 *Amyot.

1514

- Ulrich von Hutten, *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.
 Lucio Marineo Sículo, *Epistolarum familiarum libri decem et septem* (Vallisoleti).
 Juan Martinez Siliceo, *Arithmetica theorica et practica* (Parisiis).
 Fernando de Roa, *Commentarii in Politicorum Aristotelis libros* (Salmanticae).
 Linacre, *De emendata structura latini sermonis libri vi*.
 Lisuarte de Grecia (Sevilla).
 Enzina, Placida y Vitoriano (Roma).
 Lucas Fernandez, *Farsas y Eglogas* (Salamanca).
 Aldine ed. of Pindar.
 Greek Testament printed at Alcalá.

- The Pope receives Tristão da Cunha's mission (Secretary, Garcia de Resende) with elephant and other gifts from King Manuel, who beseeches him to reform the Church.
 *Alvar Gomez de Castro.
 *Vesalius.
 †Johann Amerbach.
 †Benedetto Garret (Il Chariteo).
 †Bramante (Dante da Urbino).

1515

- Tacitus, *Annales I-VI*.
 Budaeus, *De Asse et partibus eius libri V* (Parisiis).
 Gaspar Lax de Sariñena, *Arithmetica speculativa* (Parisiis).
 Plautus, *Amphitruo*. Span. tr., Francisco Lopez de Villalobos.
 Traducción del dante por don pero fernández de villegas (Burgos).
 Fray Alonso de Zamora, *Vocabularium Hebraicum* (Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraicae) (Compluti).

- †Louis XII.
 Accession of François I.
 Albuquerque captures Ormuz.
 Centenary of Portuguese conquest of Ceuta.
 Castille incorporates Navarre.
 King Manuel requests the Pope to introduce the Inquisition into Portugal.
 Raffaele paints the Sistine Madonna.
 Trissino writes his play *Sofonisba*.
 Las Casas returns to Spain.
 *Santa Teresa at Ávila.

Contemporary Literature

Contemporary Events

- *Roger Ascham.
- *Peter Ramus.
- †Albuquerque.
- †Aldo Manuzio.
- †King Ferdinand of Aragon.
- †El Gran Capitán.

1516

- Erasmus' Greek Testament (Basileae).
- Sir Thomas More, *De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* (Lovanii).
- Pedro Ciruelo, *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum artium liberalium* (Alcalá).
- Juan de Celaya, *Expositio in librum Praedicamentorum Aristotelis* (Parisii).
- Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral* (Lisboa).
- Fernando Bernal, *Floriseo* . . . *Rey de Bohemia* (Valencia).
- 1516? Torres Naharro, *Comedia Tinellaria*.
- Accession of Charles to the throne of Spain.
- Unsuccessful Spanish attack on Algiers.
- New militia decreed in Spain. Risings at Valladolid and other towns.
- Foundation of Seville University.
- *Conrad Gesner.
- *Antonio Agustín.
- †Bellini

1517

- Printing of *Biblia Sacra* (Cisneros' Complutensian Polyglot Bible) completed at Alcalá.
- Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, vol. ii. G. Budé, *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum*.
- Johann Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabbalistica*.
- Fernando Alonso de Herrera, *Breve disputa de ocho levadas contra Aristotil, &c.* [Span. and Lat.] (Salamanca).
- Gaspar Lax de Sariñena, *Calculaciones generales* (Zaragoza).
- Diego Lopez de Stúñiga, *Paraclesis* (Basileae).
- Lebrija, *Reglas de orthographia en la lengua castellana* (Alcalá).
- Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, *La Propalladia*.
- Diego de Valera, *La Crónica de España abreuviada* (Seuilla).
- Aldine ed. of Ausonius.
- (Oct. 31) Luther publishes his ninety-five Theses at Wittenberg.
- Erasmus leaves England.
- Pico della Mirandola presents his *Oratio de reformatendis moribus* to the Pope.
- (Sept. 19) Charles V lands in Spain. Adrian, Bishop of Tortosa, created Cardinal.
- Pedro Margalho at Salamanca.
- San Tomas de Villanueva enters Augustinian convent at Salamanca.
- Siliceo enters Colegio de San Bartolomé.
- D. Diego de Muros, Bishop of Oviedo, founds Colegio Mayor de San Salvador at Salamanca.
- Execution of Balboa.
- †Cardinal Ximenes at Roa.
- *Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal Granvelle.

1518

- Statutes of St. Paul's School.
- Melanchthon, *Institutiones Linguae Graecae*.
- Marriage of King Manuel to Lianor, sister of Charles V.
- Melanchthon becomes Professor of Greek at Wittenberg.

1518 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Marsilio Ficino, *De Christiana Religione* (Venice).
 Juan Dolz del Castellar, *Cunabula omnium fere scientiarum*.
 Bartolomé de Castro, *Questiones logice* (Salmanticae).
 Lebrija, *Relectio nova de accentu latino* (Valentiae).
 Libro de Boecio. Span. tr. Fray Alberto de Aguayo (Sevilla).

Contemporary Events

- Colegio de San Millán founded at Salamanca.
 Seville University inaugurated.
 *Tintoretto.
 *Francisco de Hollanda.
 *Gutierre de Cetina.
 *Fray Juan de Guevara (Biamonte).
 †Domenico Fancelli.

1519

- Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa (Valencia).
 2nd ed. Erasmus' Greek Testament.
 Diego Lopez de Stúñiga, *Annotaciones . . . contra Iacobum Fabrum* (Alcalá).
 Pedro Ciruelo, *Prima Pars Logices* (Alcalá).
 Fray Alonso de Córdoba, *Principia Dialectices* (Salmanticae).
 Martín Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de Geographia* (Sevilla).
 Pedro de Covarrubias, *Remedio de Jugadores* (Burgos).

- (Jan. 11) †Emperor Maximilian.
 Charles I becomes Emperor Charles V.
 Charles V confers the Golden Fleece on five Castilian noblemen.
 Magalhães and El Cano leave Seville on voyage round the world.
 Espinosa founds Panama.
 1519-21 Cortes conquers Mexico.
 1519-22 Wars of Comunidades in Spain.
 †Leonardo da Vinci.
 †Jean Colet.

1520

- Luther, *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*.
 Vives, *Declamationes Syllanae* (Antwerp).
 Budaëus, *De contemptu rerum fortuitarum* (Parisiis).
 J. Hus, *Liber egregius de unitate Ecclesiae* (s. l.).
 Diego Lopez de Stúñiga, *Annotaciones . . . contra Erasmum Roterdamum, &c.* (Complut).
 Fernando de Enzinas, *De Relativis, etc.* (Parisiis).
 La Vida de Ysopo (Valencia).
 Pedro Margallo, *Physices Compendium* (Salmanticae).
 Erasmus, *Tratado de como se quexa la paz*. Span. tr. (Sevilla).
 Juan de Espinosa, *Tractado de los principios de musica, etc.* (Toledo).

- Magalhães discovers the 'Straits of Magellan' and reaches the Pacific.
 Leo X excommunicates Luther.
 Henry VIII and François I meet in the Field of the Cloth of Gold.
 Comunidades rising in Castille and Germanias in Valencia.
 Cortes meet at Santiago de Compostela.
 University founded at Toledo.
 Privilegio of Charles V exempts Leon Hebreo from taxation.
 *Christophe Plantin.
 *Gregorio Silvestre.
 †Raffaele.
 †Bartolomé Ordoñez.
 1520? *Jorge de Montemayor.
 c. 1520 *Gaspar Becerra.

1521

Contemporary Literature

- Caroli Quinti . . . Edictum . . . contra
F. Martinum Lutherum, &c.
Henry VIII, Assertio septem Sacra-
mentorum, &c.
Erasmus, Epistolae ad diversos.
Melancthon, Loci communes.
Sepúlveda, De vita et rebus Aegidii
Cardinalis Albornotii (Romae).
Pedro Ciruelo, Apotelesmata Astro-
logie Christiane (Compluti).
Fernando de Enzinas, Exponibulum,
etc. (Parisiis).
Fray Alonso de Castrillo, Tractado de
Republica.
Machiavelli, Arte della guerra (Fi-
renze).
Lorenzo Valla, Historiarum Ferdi-
nandi . . . libri tres (Parisiis).
Sir John Mandeville, Libro de las
marauillas del mundo. Span. tr.
(Valencia).

Contemporary Events

- (Dec. 1) †Leo X.
(Dec. 13) †King Manuel.
Accession of João III.
Luther condemned by the Sorbonne.
Turks capture Belgrade.
Marriage of Beatriz, d. of King of
Portugal, to Duke of Savoy.
(April) Comuneros defeated at Villa-
lar.
Archbishop Fonseca founds Colegio
Mayor de Santiago Apostol at
Salamanca.
†Magalhães.
Gil Gonzalez discovers Nicaragua.
Sá de Miranda goes to Spain and
Italy.
San Ignacio de Loyola wounded at
Pamplona by the French.
1521-5 War between Spain and
France.

1522

- Cisneros' Polyglot Bible published.
6 vols. (Compluti).
Luther's German New Testament.
Luther, Contra Henricum Regem
Angliae.
St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, ed.
Vives (Basileae).
Diego Lopez de Stúñiga, Contra
Erasmi Roterodami blasphemias
et impietates (Romae).
Sancho Carranza de Miranda, Opus-
culum in quasdam Erasmi Roterodami
annotationes (Romae).
Alvar Gomez de Ciudad Real, Tha-
lia christiana (Alcalá).
Hernan Cortés, Carta de Relacion
(Seuilla).

- (Sept. 6) Juan Sebastian El Cano
returns to the Guadalquivir after
sailing round the world.
(Oct.) Vives writes to Adrian VI:
De Europae statu et tumultibus.
(June) Charles V in London.
(July 16) Charles V lands at San-
tander.
Turks drive Knights of St. John from
Rhodes.
Papal Inquisition introduced into
Flanders.
Orozco takes Augustinian habit at
the Convent of San Pedro at Sala-
manca.
San Tomás de Villanueva preaches at
Salamanca.
Siliceo becomes Professor of Philo-
sophy at Salamanca.
Germanias are overcome in Valencia.
Execution of Comuneros at Sala-
manca.
(July) †Lebrija. His Chair offered to
Vives.
†Johann Reuchlin.
*Margaret of Parma.
*Jacques Cujas.
1522 ? *Hernando de Acuña.

1523

Contemporary Literature

- Vives, *Veritas Fvcata, sive de licentia poetica* (Louanii).
 Sepúlveda, *Dialogus de appetenda gloria* (Gonzalus) (Romae).
 Fernando de Enzinas, *Magnorum exponibilibum compendium* (Toleti).
 Froissart, *Chronicles*. Eng. tr. Lord Berners, vol. i.
 First Dutch New Testament.

Contemporary Events

- (Sept. 24) †Adrian VI.
 Accession of Clement VII.
 Charles V incorporates the four Military Orders in the Crown.
 Gil González Dávila conquers Nicaragua.
 Vives at Oxford.
 Goes proceeds to Antwerp.
 Diego de Siloe at work at Granada.
 Córdoba Cathedral begun.
 El Comendador Griego obtains Chair of Greek at Salamanca, previously held by Aires Barbosa.
 *Juan Verzosa.
 1523? *El Brocense.

1524

- Vives, *De institutione foeminae christiana* (Antuerpiae).
 Vives, *Introductio ad sapientiam* (Louanii).
 Erasmus, *De libero arbitrio* (Basileae).
 Catalogus *Haereticorum* (Parisiis).
 L. Marineo Sículo, *Cronica de Aragon* (Valencia).
 Alvar Gutierrez de Torres, *Breve compendio de las alabanzas de la astrologia* (Toledo).
 Las lecciones de Iob trobadas (Toledo).
 Refranes glosados (Burgos).
 Quintus Curtius, ed. Lorenzo Balbo (Compluti).
 Le Fèvre d'Étaples, *Évangiles*.

- Pedro de Alvarado conquers Guatemala.
 Melchor Cano professes at San Esteban, Salamanca.
 Hernan Perez de Oliva returns to Spain.
 Enrique de Arfe completes his Toledo monsthrance.
 †D. Vasco da Gama (Dec. 24)
 †Thomas Linacre.
 †Bayard.
 *Ronsard.
 1524? *Camões.

1525

- Luther, *De Servo Arbitrio*. [2nd ed.?] Melancthon, *Grammatica Latina*.
 Tyndale's English New Testament printed in Germany.
 Pedro Ciruelo, *Arte de bien confesar* (Alcalá).
 Froissart. Eng. tr., vol. ii.
 Fernando de Loazes, *De conversione et baptismo Agarenorum* (Valencia).
 Bembo, *Prose della lingua volgare*.
 Osuna, *Abecedario Espiritual*, Pts. i-iv (1525-30).

- Marriage of João III and Infanta Catalina.
 (Feb. 24) Battle of Pavia.
 (June 17) François I lands in Spain. Teatinos founded by Caraffa.
 Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo founded at Salamanca.
 Segovia Cathedral begun.
 Juan de Celaya returns to Spain from Paris.
 Moriscos given choice between slavery and expulsion (before Jan. 31, 1526).
 *Joachim du Bellay.
 *Pedro Chacon.
 †Fray Diego de Deza.

Contemporary Literature

Contemporary Events

†Antonio de Burgos.
†Pietro Pomponazzi.
June 1525-Jan. 1528 Andrea Navagero Venetian Ambassador in Spain.

1526

Erasmus, *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio*.
Vives, *De subventionem pauperum* (Brugis).
Vives, *De Europae dissidiis* (Brugis).
Sepúlveda, *De fato et libero arbitrio* (Romae).
Ciruelo, *Cursus quatuor, &c.* (Compluti).
[Gonzalo Hernandez de] Oviedo de la natural ystoria de las Indias (Toledo).
Alonso de Zamora, *Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraice* (Compluti).
Diego Sagredo, *Medidas del Romano, o Vitruvio* (Toledo).
Juan Martin, *De usu astrolabi compendium* (Parisiis).
Alvaro de Castro, *Janua Vitae*.
Libro del fabulador Ysopo (Seuilla).
Juan Diaz, *Lisuarte de Grecia*.

Diet of Spire.
(Jan. 15) Peace signed between Charles V and François I.
(March) Charles marries his first cousin Isabel, d. of King Manuel of Portugal.
Pizarro discovers the coast of Quito.
Francisco de Vitoria becomes Prima Professor of Theology at Salamanca.
Boscán meets Navagero at Granada and begins to introduce the Italian metres into Spain.
*Olympia Morata.
*Marc-Antoine Muret.
†Pietro Martyr d'Anghiera.
†Juan Sebastian El Cano.
1526 ? *Sebastian Fox Morcillo.
1526 ? Sá de Miranda returns from Italy.
1526-32 Alonso Berruguete at work in convent of San Benito el Real at Valladolid.

1527

(August) Birth at Belmonte in La Mancha (Mancha Alta, La Mancha de Aragon or de Montaragon), in the province and diocese of Cuenca.
Budé, *De studio litterarum recte et commode instituendo*.
Osorio, *De Gloria libri quinque*.
Fernando de Enzinas, *Oppositiones* (Parisiis).
Fray Francisco de Meneses, *Difficilium accentuum compendium* (Parisiis).
Erasmus, *Enquiridio o Manual del cauallero cristiano*. Span. tr. Alonso Fernandez de Madrid.

(May 6) Sack of Rome by Charles V's troops.
(May 21) *Philip II at Valladolid.
The Spanish begin to colonize Venezuela.
Cabeza de Vaca sails for Florida.
Holbein in England.
Erasmus' works examined at Valladolid.
Loyola arrested at Salamanca.
Diego de Riaño begins work on Seville Town Hall.
Colegio de Santa Cruz (Cañizares) founded at Salamanca.
*Benito Arias Montano.
*Fray Bartolomé de Medina.
*Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando.
*Pedro de Ribadeneira.
*The musician Francisco Guerrero.

Contemporary Literature

- Erasmus, *De recta latini et graeci sermonis pronuntiatione* (Basileae).
 Hernán Núñez, *Glosa sobre las obras de Juan de Mena* (Sevilla).
 Ciruelo, *Expositio libri missalis peregrina* (Compluti).
 Antonio de Guevara, *Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio* [pirated edition].
 Fray Francisco de Osuna, *Primera Parte del Abecedario Espiritual* (Sevilla).
 Hernán Pérez de Oliva, *La Venganza de Agamenon* [Span. tr. of the *Electra* of Sophocles] (Burgos).
 Erasmus, *Colloquios*. Span. tr.
 Vives, *Libro llamado Instrucción de la Mujer Christiana*. Span. tr.
 Juan Justiniano (Valencia).
 Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*.
 1528? Valdés, *Diálogo* [on sack of Rome].

Contemporary Events

- (April 29) Oath taken to Philip at Madrid.
 Loyola goes to Paris.
 Colegio de Santa María de Burgos founded at Salamanca.
 *Infanta Maria.
 *Paolo Veronese.
 *Antonio Ferreira.
 *Fray Domingo Bañez.
 *Henri Estienne.
 †Albrecht Dürer.
 c. 1528 *Frei Heitor Pinto.

1529

- Sambenitos of Leonor de Villanueva and Juana Rodriguez ordered to be hung in the Collegiate Church of Belmonte.
 Gomez Fernandez de Leon (born c. 1530) acquitted of heresy, but fined for disrespect to the Holy Office and ordered to do public penance in the Collegiate Church at Belmonte.
 Vives, *De concordia & discordia*, &c. (Antuerpiae).
 Vives, *De officiis mariti* (Brugis).
 Budaëus, *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (Parisii).
 Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Caron*.
 Lebrija, *De artis rhetoricae*, etc. (Compluti).
 Gaspar Lax de Sariñena, *Praedicationibus* (Zaragoza).
 Antonio de Guevara, *Libro llamado Relox de Principes* (Valladolid).
 Fray Vicente de Burgos (*Libro de proprietatibus rerum en romance*), *Hystoria natural*, &c. (Toledo).
 Diego de Cabranes, *Clave espiritual para abrir la alta materia de la predestinacion* (Toledo).
 Second Diet of Spire.
 Turks fail to take Vienna.
 (July 26) Empress Isabel signs contract with Pizarro for conquest of Peru.
 More succeeds Wolsey as Lord Chancellor of England.
 D. Pedro Pacheco, Dean of Santiago, and Don Alonso Mexia, Canon of Toledo, Visitors of Salamanca University.
 Diego de Siloe at work on Granada Cathedral.
 Garci Lasso accompanies Charles V to Bologna.
 † (at Toledo) Count Baldassare Castiglione, Papal Nuncio in Spain.
 † (May 8) Andrea Navagero at Blois, aet. 46.
 1529? *Frei Thomé de Jesus.
 1529? †Juan del Enzina.

1530

- Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus*.
 Pietro Martyr d'Anghiera, *Opvs Epistolarvm* (Compluti).
 Clemenardus, *Institutiones Linguae Graecae* (Lovanii).
 Budaëus, *De Philologia*.
 Diet of Augsburg.
 Treaty between Charles V and Clement VII.
 Pope crowns Charles emperor.
 François I founds Collège de France under G. Budé.

Contemporary Literature

- Tyndale, Eng. tr. of Pentateuch.
Francisco de Enzinas, Span. tr. of
New Testament.
Lucio Marineo Siculo, De rebus His-
paniae memorabilibus (Compluti).
Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium, &c. (Antuerpiae).

Contemporary Events

- Knights Hospitallers established at Malta.
Pedro Margalho, Rector of Colegio de Cuenca, leaves Salamanca for Coimbra.
†Margaret of Savoy.
†Sannazaro aet 72.
*Baltasar del Alcazar.
*Pedro Juan Perpiñá.
*Étienne de la Boétie.
1530 ? *Pedro Simon Abril.
*Juan de Herrera.
*Eugenio de Salazar.
*Juan Huarte.
*Pedro Malon de Chaide.
c. 1530 *Amador Arraez.
*Diogo Bernardes.
*Jeronimo Corte Real.

1531

- Vives, De disciplinis libri xii (Antverpiae).
Miguel Servet, De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem (s. l.).
Alexo Vanegas, Tractado de orthographia y accentos en las tres lenguas principales (Toledo).
H. Cornelius Agrippa, De occulta philosophia.
Joannes Sinapius, Declamatio adversus ignaviam et sordes eorum qui litteras humanas negligunt et contemnunt eo quod non sint de pane lucrando (Parisus).
Fernando de Loazes, De matrimonio Regis Angliae Henrici VIII (Basilae).
Luis Milan, Libro de musica de vihuela de mano (Valencia).
Gil Vicente's Jubileu de Amor produced at Brussels.

- João III renews request for introduction of the Inquisition.
First Bull (*Cum ad nihil*) authorizing introduction of Inquisition into Portugal. It came to nothing.
Earthquake at Lisbon.
Gaspar de Quiroga enters Colegio de Oviedo at Salamanca.
Covarrubias at work on Toledo Cathedral.
(Nov.) Clenardus comes to Spain from Louvain with Vasaeus and Hernán Colón, remaining at Salamanca until 1533.
Juan de Valdés at Rome.
†Zwinglius.
†Andrea del Sarto.
1531 ? †Torres Naharro.
1531-6 Pizarro conquers Peru.

1532

- Sepúlveda, Antapologia (Parisiis).
D. Heliodoro de Paiva, Lexicon graecum et hebraicum.
Lucio Marineo, Grammatica brevis (Compluti).
Pedro Alonso, Navegacion.
Feliciano de Silva, Don Floriseo de Niquea.
Robert Estienne, Thesaurus linguae latinae.
Aristotle, Meteororum. Lat. tr. Sepúlveda (Parisiis).

- (Dec.) Charles V and Clement VII meet at Bologna.
Anglican schism.
More resigns the Chancellorship.
Juan de Valdés goes to Naples.
Juan de Ávila arrested by the Inquisition.
Aramaic translation of Old Testament completed at Salamanca.
*Étienne Jodelle.
†Juan Montes de Oca.
1532 ? †Alonso de Valdés.

1532 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

Machiavelli, *Il Principe*.
 Rabelais, *Chroniques Gargantuines*.
 Luigi Alamanni, *Opere toscane*
 (Lyon).

Contemporary Events

1532-49 Domingo de Soto holds
 Vespers Chair of Theology at Sala-
 manca.

1533

1533? Goes from Belmonte to Madrid.

Vives, *Rhetorica, sive de recte di-
 cendi ratione libri tres* (Lovanii).
 Francisco Arias de Valderas, *De belli
 iustitia et iniustitia* (Romae).
 Fernando de Arce, *Adagiorum, etc.*
 (Salmanticae).
 Fray Francisco de Robles, *Copia sive
 ratio accentuum omnium fere dic-
 tionum, etc.* (Compluti).
 Rabelais, *Pantagruel*.
 Diego Gracian de Alderete, *Apo-
 techmas de Plutarcho* (Alcalá).
 Platir (Valladolid).

Henry VIII divorces Queen Kathe-
 rine.
 Treaty between Austria and Turkey.
 Clenardus lectures at Salamanca.
 Leon de Castro obtains *regencia* of
 Grammar at Salamanca.
 The Dutch poet Joannes Secundus
 goes to Spain at the age of twenty-
 one.
 Eight Augustinian missionaries leave
 Spain.
 *Michel de Montaigne.
 *Ercilla.
 *Esteban de Garibay.
 *William, Prince of Orange.
 †Ariosto.
 †Hernán Pérez de Oliva.
 1533? †Duarte Pacheco Pereira.

1534

Castiglione, *Los Quatro Libros del
 Cortesano*. Span. tr. Boscán (Bar-
 celona).
 Fray Alonso de Castro, *Adversus om-
 nes haereses libri xiv* (Parisiis).
 Fernando de Enzinas, *Principia dia-
 lectices* (Toleti).
 Ramus, *Animadversiones in Dialec-
 ticam Aristotelis*.
 Pedro de Espinosa, *Summulae* (Sal-
 manticae).
 Francisco de Jerez, *Verdadera rela-
 cion de la conquista del Peru*
 (Sevilla).
 Luther completes German tr. of the
 Bible.
 Juan de Valdés writes *Diálogo de la
 Lengua* 1534-36? [publ. 1737].

†Clement VII.
 Accession of Paul III.
 Loyola founds the Company of Jesus.
 Tyndale arrested at Antwerp.
 Military Colleges of Santiago and San
 Juan and Convento de Agustinas
 founded at Salamanca.
 Martinez Siliceo appointed tutor to
 Philip II.
 (May 26-30) Charles V visits Sala-
 manca.
 *Fernando de Herrera.
 †Alfonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of
 Toledo.
 †Beatriz Galindo, la Latina.
 †Diego de Riaño.
 †Pablo Coronel.
 †Correggio.
 1534? *Francisco de la Torre.
 1534-5 War of the Geraldines in
 Ireland.

1535

Contemporary Literature

- Vives, *De communione rerum*.
 Vives, *Ad animi conversionem in Deum commentatiunculae* (Antuerpiae).
 Pedro de Espinosa, *Philosophia naturalis* (Salmanticae).
 Sepúlveda, *De convenientia disciplinae militaris cum christiana religione* [Democrates] (Romae).
 Aristotle, *De Phisiognomia*. Span. tr. Andrés de Laguna (Parisiis).
 Ptolemaei . . . libri octo ed. Miguel Servet (Lugdun).
 Francisco Faleiro, *Tratado del Esphera y del arte de marear* (Sevilla).
 Tyndale and Coverdale, *English Bible*.
 Rabelais, *Gargantua*.
 Leon Hebreo, *Dialogid' Amore* (Roma).

Contemporary Events

- (May 31) Charles V sails from Barcelona, captures Tunis (Aug. 17) and arrives at Naples (Nov. 25).
 Act of Supremacy.
 Execution of Sir Thomas More.
 Pizarro founds the city of Lima.
 First foundation of Buenos Aires by Pedro de Mendoza.
 (Dec.) Juan de Vergara sentenced by the Inquisition to fine of 1,500 ducats and reclusion in a convent.
 *Luis de Molina.
 *Benito Pereira.
 *Juan de Arfe.
 †H. Cornelius Agrippa.
 †Berni.
 1535 ? *Juan de Mariana.

1536

- Vives, *De conscribendis epistolis* (Basileae).
 Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*.
 Juan Bautista Monardes, *Verdadera Descrpcion de todas las yerbas que hay en España*, etc.
 Jean du Rueil, *De natura stirpium* (Parisiis).
 Hernán Núñez, *Annotationes in Senecae Philosophi Opera* (Venetiis).
 Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*; ed. Pedro Juan Oliver (Parisiis).
 Étienne Dolet, *Commentariorum linguae latinae, &c.* (Lugdun).
 Amato Lusitano, *Index Dioscoridis* (Antverpiae).
 Fernam de Oliveira, *Grammatica da lingua portuguesa*.
Imitacion de Cristo. Span. tr., Luis de Granada (Sevilla).
 Luis Milan, *Libro de Musica* (El Maestro).

- (April 5) Charles V arrives in Rome.
 War between Charles V and François I (and Turkey).
 Inquisition established in Portugal.
 Paul III issues Bull deposing Henry VIII.
 Calvin goes to Geneva.
 Sepúlveda becomes official chronicler and returns with Charles V to Spain.
 Smaller convents dissolved in England.
 State subvention granted to Biblioteca Colombina.
 Colegio de la Magdalena founded at Salamanca.
 *Francisco de Figueroa.
 †Catherine of Aragon.
 (July 15) †Erasmus.
 †Garci Lasso de la Vega.
 †Garcia de Resende.
 †William Tyndale.
 †Joannes Secundus.
 †Fernando de Rojas.
 Gil Vicente produces his last play at Evora.
 1536 ? *Fray Juan de los Angeles.
 1536-38 Vasaeus Reader in Gramatica at Salamanca.
 1536-38 Quesada conquers Nueva Granada.

1537

Contemporary Literature

- Vives, In Bucolica Vergilii interpretatio (Basileae).
 Francisco de Vergara, De omnibus graecae linguae grammaticae partibus (Compluti).
 Francisco de Osuna, Abecedario Espiritual, pt. III.
 Martin Perez de Ayala, Commentaria in Universalis Porphyrii (Granada).
 Pedro Nunez, Tratado da Sphera. Portug. tr. (Lisboa).
 Alexo Vanegas, Agonia del transito de la muerte (Toledo).
 Ambrosio Montesino, Cancionero (Sevilla).
 Joannes Dryander, Anatomiae, hoc est corporis humani dissectionis, pars prior (Marpurgii).

Contemporary Events

- The College of Cardinals presents to the Pope their report *de emendanda Ecclesia*.
 Foundation of Granada University.
 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza goes as Ambassador to England.
 Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Guadix, becomes Bishop of Mondoñedo
 † Jacques Le Fèvre of Étampes (Faber)

1538

- Statutes of Salamanca University.
 Vives, Exercitationes linguae latinae.
 Vives, De anima et vita libri tres (Basileae).
 Ciruelo, Reprobacion de las supersticiones y hechicerías (Salamanca).
 Sepúlveda, De ratione dicendi testimonium [Theophilus] (Vallisoleti).
 Ctenardus, Institutiones Grammaticae Latinae (Braga).
 Alvar Gomez, Septem elegiae in septem penitentiae Psalmos (Toleti).
 Vittoria Colonna, Rime (Parma).

- Turks defeat Venice at Battle of Previsa.
 Hernando de Soto's expedition to Florida.
 First printing press established in America (Mexico).
 First Siege of Diu.
 D. João de Castro's first Roteiro (Lisbon to Goa).
 'Millones' tax imposed on meat, wine, oil, and vinegar in Spain.
 Quiroga becomes Professor of Law at Valladolid.
 Azpilcueta becomes Professor of Canon Law at Coimbra.
 Francisco de Hollanda arrives in Rome.
 Berruguete at work on choir-stalls of Toledo Cathedral.
 *St. Charles Borromeo.
 *Guarini.
 *Pablo de Céspedes.
 †Alvar Gomez de Ciudad Real.
 †Alonso Manrique de Lara, Inquisitor General.
 †Germaine de la Foix.
 1538-45 D. Rodrigo Mendoza is Bishop of Salamanca.

1539

Contemporary Literature

- Guevara, Epistolae familiares.
 Juan Perez, Progymnasmata Artis
 Rhetoricae (Compluti).
 Vives, Comentarios. Span. tr. (Bur-
 gos).
 Antonio de Gouvêa, Epigrammatum
 libri duo (Lugduni).
 Barros, Cartinha para aprender a ler.
 Clément Marot, Poésies.

Contemporary Events

- Charles V requests Louvain Univer-
 sity to draw up an Index.
 Cardinal Henrique becomes Grand
 Inquisitor in Portugal.
 Remaining monasteries dissolved in
 England.
 Blasco de Garay proposes to con-
 struct an engine [a wooden wheel ?]
 to propel boats without oars in
 calm weather.
 (May 1) †Empress Isabel at Toledo
 †Hernán Colón.
 *José de Acosta.

1540

- Goes, Fides, Religio, Moresque Aethio-
 pvm (Lovanii).
 Calvin, Loci Communes Theologici
 (Halle).
 Fray Luis de Carvajal, De restituta
 theologia (Coloniae).
 Alexo Vanegas, Primera parte de las
 diferencias q̄ ay en el uniuerso
 (Toledo).
 Pero Mexia, Silva de varia lecion
 (Seuilla).
 Fray Francisco Ruiz, Index Comple-
 tissimus [of Aristotle].
 Antonio Luis, De occultis propieta-
 tibus.
 J. C. Scaliger, De causis linguae
 latinae libri tredecim (Lugduni).
 Barros, Grammatica da Lingva Portv-
 guesa.
 Barros, Dialogo em lovvor de nossa
 lingvagem.
 Amadis. French tr., Herberay des
 Essarts, vol. i.
 Antonio de Gouvêa, Epigrammata,
 2nd ed. with Epistolae quatuor
 (Lugduni).
 1540? Vives, An Introduction to
 Wysdome. Eng. tr. Sir Richard
 Morison.

- Venice makes peace with the Turks.
 (Sept.) Company of Jesus confirmed
 by Papal Bull.
 First *auto da fe* in Portugal.
 First Index of Louvain University.
 French Parliament protests against
 the plays of the Confrérie de la
 Passion.
 Latimer arrested.
 Juan Díaz of Cuenca turns Protestant.
 Gregorio Gallo wins Chair of Bible at
 Salamanca.
 Antonio de Arfe finishes the Santiago
 monstration.
 *Antonio Perez.
 *Joseph Justus Scaliger.
 *Frei Agostinho da Cruz.
 †Juan de Valdés at Naples.
 †Aires Barbosa.
 †Guillaume Budé.
 †Francesco Guicciardini.
 1540 or 1541 *Fray Francisco Zumel.
 c. 1540 *Brantôme.
 c. 1540 *Tomás Luis de Vitoria.
 c. 1540 *Fernam Alvarez do Oriente.
 c. 1540 †Francisco de Osuna.
 1540-8 Diego de Covarrubias is Pro-
 fessor of Law at Salamanca.

1541

- His father becomes Judge (*Oidor*) at Granada, and in this or the following
 year sends Luis from Valladolid to Salamanca to study Canon Law.
 Calvin, Institution de la Religion
 Chrestienne.
 Fray Miguel de Salinas, Rhetorica en
 lengua castellana (Alcalá).
 Conference at Ratisbon.
 Pedro de Valdivia founds Santiago de
 Chile.
 San Francisco Xavier goes to India.

1541 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Florian de Ocampo, *Las quatro Partes enteras de la Cronica de España* (Zamora).
 Blasco de Garay, *Dos Cartas* [in proverbs] (Toledo).
 Sepúlveda, *Dialogo llamado Democrites* [Span. tr.] (Sevilla).
 Virgilius, *Terentius pristino splendori restituti* [by Antonio de Gouvêa].
 Goes, *Fides, Religio Moresque Aethiopum* (Parisius).
 Clément Marot, *Trente Psaumes de David*.

Contemporary Events

- Murder of Francisco Pizarro.
 *Pierre Charron.
 †Paracelsus.
 1541-61 Francisco Sancho holds Chair of Logic at Salamanca.

1542

- Azpilcueta, *De Poenitentia*, etc. (Coimbra).
 Azpilcueta, *Tractado de alabanza y murmuracion*; new ed., Valladolid, 1572.
 Osuna, *Quinta Parte del Abecedario Espiritual* (Bvrgos).
 Pedro Nunez, *De Crepusculis* (Lisboa).
 Lucan, *Pharsalia*. Span. tr. Martin Laso de Oropesa (Lisboa).
 Theodorus Bibliander (Buchmann), *De optimo genere grammaticorum hebraicorum commentarius* (Basileae).
Dialogi di Messer Speron Speroni (Venezia).
 Portuguese discover Japan.
 Portuguese lose Safi and Azamor in Africa.
 Inquisition established at Rome.
 Fourteen Protestants burnt at Meaux.
 Padre Simão Rodriguez founds Jesuit College at Coimbra.
 French Dauphin lays siege to Perpignan.
 *San Juan de la Cruz.
 †Boscán.
 †Clenardus.
 †Hernando de Soto.
 †Sir Thomas Wyatt.
 †Diogo do Couto.
 1542-3 The Spanish explore the coast of California.

1543

(Jan. ? or earlier) he enters as novice the Augustinian Convent of St. Peter at Salamanca.

- Las obras de Boscán y algunas de Garcilasso de la Vega* (Barcelona).
 Vives, *De veritate fidei christianae libri quinque* (Basileae).
 Copernicus, *De revolutionibus orbium celestium libri iv* (Nürnberg).
 Agustín, *Emendationum et opinionum libri quatuor* (Venetiis).
 Pedro de Medina, *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (Sevilla).
 Aristotle, *De natura stirpium*. Lat. tr. Laguna (Coloniae).
 Peter Ramus, *Aristotelicae animadversiones*.
 Paul III authorizes Salamanca University to alter or annul previous Apostolic Constitutions.
 (Wed., Nov. 14) Wedding of Philip II and his cousin Maria, d. of João III, in Salamanca Cathedral.
 Prince Philip attends lecture by Domingo de Soto and leaves Salamanca on Nov. 19.
 †Nicolas Copernicus aet. 70.
 †Holbein.
 †Felipe Vigarni de Borgoña.

Contemporary Literature

- Antonii Goveani pro Aristotele responsio adversus Petri Rami calumnias, &c. (Parisiis).
 Francisco Lopez de Villalobos, Libro titulado Los Problemas.
 El Nuevo Testamento. Span. tr. Francisco de Enzinas (Enueres).
 Hernán Núñez, Castigationes in Pomponium Melam, &c. (Salmanticae).
 Alfonso Alvarez Guerrero, De bello iusto et iniusto (Naples).
 Aonio Paleario, Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Giesù Christo &c. (Venetiis).
 Sadoletto, De laudibus philosophiae (Lugduni).
 Étienne Dolet, Observationes in Terentii Comoedias (Lugduni).
 Clément Marot, Cinquante psaumes.
 Lucio Apuleyo del Asno de Oro. Span. tr. Diego Lopez de Cortegana (Medina).

Contemporary Events

1544

(Jan. 29) He professes in the Augustinian Convent at Salamanca.

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| <p>Hernán Núñez, Observationes in loca obscura . . . Plinii (Salmanticae).
 Orozco, Vergel de oracion (Sevilla).
 Vives, Introduccion para ser sabio. Span. tr., Francisco Cervantes de Salazar.
 Francisco de Monzon, Libro primero del principe christiano (Sevilla).
 Sophoclis, tragicorum veterum facile principis, tragoediae (Lutetiae).
 1544 ? Moraes, Cronica de Palmeirim de Inglaterra.</p> | <p>(Sept. 17) Treaty of Crespy between Charles V and François I.
 Jesuits begin to teach publicly at Valencia.
 Francisco San Roman burnt at Valladolid.
 Fray Martin de Ledesma sent to Coimbra University from Salamanca.
 (Feb.) Discussion between Peter Ramus and Antonio de Gouvêa concerning Aristotle.
 *Torquato Tasso.
 *Francisco de Medina.
 †Clément Marot.
 †Francisco de Vergara.
 †Alexo Vanegas del Busto.
 1544 ? *Fray José de Sigüenza.</p> |
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1545

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| <p>Pedro Mexia, Historia imperial y cesarea.
 Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, Summa de doctrina christiana (Sevilla).
 Miguel Jerónimo de Ledesma, Institutiones breves linguae graecae.</p> | <p>Council of Trent opens.
 (July 8) *Prince Carlos.
 Massacre of Vaudois.
 D. João de Castro becomes Viceroy of India.
 Goes returns to Portugal from Flanders.</p> |
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1545 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Pedro de Espinosa, *Tractatus proportionum*.
 Fray Luis de Escobar, *Las cuatrocientas respuestas, &c.* (Valladolid).
 Alfonso de Fuentes, *Suma de filosofia natural, &c.* (Sevilla).
 Jerónimo de Chaves, *Tractado de la Sphera* (Sevilla).
 Pedro de Medina, *Arte de navegar* (Valladolid).
 Antonio de Aranda, *Verdadera informacion de la Tierra Sancta* (Toledo).
 Vatable's Latin Bible (Robert Estienne).

Contemporary Events

- The musician Cristobal de Morales returns to Spain from Italy.
 El Brocense goes to Salamanca.
 Colegio de Santa Cruz (de San Adrian) and Colegio de los Huerfanos founded at Salamanca.
 Silver mines of Potosi discovered.
 †Princess Maria.
 †Antonio de Guevara.
 *Jerónimo Gracián.
 1545-56 D. Pedro de Castro is Bishop of Salamanca.

1546

His name appears as theological student in the first matriculation book (1546-7) preserved at Salamanca University.

- Sepúlveda, *De correctione anni* (Venetiis).
 Ambrosio de Morales, *Discurso sobre la lengua castellana, in* Cervantes de Salazar, *Obras* (Alcalá).
 Carranza, *Summa Conciliorum et Pontificum* (Venetiis).
 Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, *Libro de Agricultura* (Toledo). [6th ed.?
 Alvar Gomez, *Sumario de la clarissima vida y heroicis hechos de los catholicos reyes, &c.* (Toledo).
 Alonso Lopez de Corelas, *Trezientas preguntas de cosas naturales*.
 Pedro Nunez, *De arte atque ratione navigandi* (Coimbra).
 Paulus Jovius, *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita* (Venetiis).
 Acta Concilii Tridentini. Ratio cur qui confessionem Augustinam profitentur non esse assentiendum inquis Concilii Tridentini sententis iudicarunt (s. l.).

- Jesuits begin to teach publicly at Gandía.
 D. Fernando de Valdés becomes Archbishop of Seville.
 Test of *limprensa de sangre* established.
 Cano wins Prima Chair of Theology at Salamanca.
 (Nov. 26) Bartolomé de Medina professes at Dominican convent of San Esteban (Salamanca).
 Protestant Juan Diaz murdered by his brother Alfonso at Neuburg.
 Melanchthon with Peter Lotich leaves Wittenberg for Magdeburg.
 Latimer is transferred to the Tower of London.
 Étienne Dolet burnt at Lyon.
 Second siege of Diu.
 *Tycho Brahe.
 †Luther.
 †Fray Francisco de Vitoria.
 †Cardinal García de Loaisa.
 †Fray Francisco Ortiz.

1547

- Fray Alonso de Castro, *De iusta haereticorum punitione libri tres* (Salmanticae).
 Pedro Mexia, *Coloquios o Diálogos* (Sevilla).

- †Henry VIII.
 Accession of Edward VI.
 Charles V wins battle of Mühlberg. (March 31) †François I.

Contemporary Literature

- La Arcadia de Jacobo Sanazaro.
Span. tr. (Cuenca).
Heinrich Loriti [Glareanus] Dodeca-
chordon (Basileae).
Margaret of Navarre, Les Margue-
rites.
Valderrabano, Libro de musica de
vihuela.
1547-48 Palmeirim de Inglaterra.
Span. tr., Luis Hurtado.

Contemporary Events

- Peter Martyr and Bernardino de
Ochino in England.
André de Gouvêa, George Buchanan,
Diogo de Teive, João da Costa,
Arnaud Fabrice, Élie Vinet and
other professors go to Coimbra
from the Collège de Guyenne at
Bordeaux.
Cano's lectures *De Sacramentis* at
Salamanca.
Domingo Bañez professes in Convent
of San Esteban at Salamanca.
*Cervantes.
*Mateo Alemán.
*Justus Lipsius.
†Hernán Cortés.
†Cardinal Bembo.
†Vittoria Colonna
†Fray Alonso de Castro.
†Earl of Surrey.
†Barbarossa.
†Cardinal Sadoletto.
†François Vatable.
1547? *Domenico Theotocopuli.
1547? *Juan Rufo Gutierrez.

1548

Sambenitos of Leonor de Villanueva and Juana Rodriguez hung in Collegiate
Church of Belmonte.

- Alfonso García Matamoros, De ra-
tione dicendi libri duo (Compluti).
Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra,
Institutiones in lingvam sanctam
(Parisiis).
Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, Comentarios
de la guerra de Alemania.
Domingo de Soto, In Dialecticam
Aristotelis (Salmanticae).
Aristotelis De Republica libri viii.
Lat. tr. Sepúlveda (Parisiis).
Aristotle, Poetica. Comment. Fran-
cesco Robertelli.
Pedro de Soto, Institutionum chris-
tianarum libri tres (Augustae).
Fernando de Arce, Breves . . . Gram-
maticae Disciplinae Institutiones
(Salmanticae).
Jerónimo de Chaves, Chronographia.
Aonio Paleario, The Benefit of Christ's
death. Eng. tr. Earl of Devon-
shire [pub. 1855].
Francisco de Hollanda, Da Pintura
antiga.

- English Act of Uniformity.
Marriage of Maria d. of Charles V to his
nephew Maximilian at Valladolid.
Prince Philip leaves Spain.
Foundation of Osuna University.
Jesuits establish themselves at Sala-
manca.
(Feb.) Colegio Real inaugurated at
Coimbra.
Cano's lectures *De Poenitentia* at
Salamanca.
Francisco de Hollanda accompanies
Infante Luis to Santiago.
Comedy founded on Ariosto acted at
Valladolid.
Mal Lara's *Comedia Locusta* acted by
students at Salamanca.
*Francisco Suarez.
*Giordano Bruno.
*Luis Barahona de Soto.
*Argote de Molina.
(June 9) †André de Gouvêa.
†D. João de Castro.
†Sigismund I of Poland.

1549

Contemporary Literature

- English Book of Common Prayer.
 Joachim du Bellay, Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise.
 Martín Pérez de Ayala, De divinis, apostolicis atque ecclesiasticis traditionibus (Coloniae).
 Antonio de Gouvêa, De Conclusionibus (Parisiis).
 Goes, De Bello Cambaico.
 Fray Juan Bermudo, Arte Tripharia (Osuna).
 Pedro de Valles, Libro de refranes (Zaragoza).
 Cancionero Espiritual (Valladolid).
 Andrea Alciato, Emblemata. Span. tr. (Lyon).
 Cardinal Seripando, Novae Constitutiones [of Augustinian Order] (Venice).

Contemporary Events

- (Nov. 10) †Paul III.
 Philip II at Brussels (nec aliud quam Hispaniam loquebatur).
 Portuguese lose Arzila and Alcacer.
 *Archduchess Anne [future Queen of Spain] near Valladolid.
 †Queen Margaret of Navarre.
 †Francisco Lopez de Villalobos.
 *Andrés Rey de Artieda.

1550

- Domingo de Soto, De natura et gratia (Antuerpiae).
 Domingo de Soto, Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Antuerpiae).
 Sepúlveda, Apologia pro libro de iustis belli causis (Romae).
 Bartolomé de Carranza, Controversia de necessaria residentia personali episcoporum (Salmanticae).
 Ioannis Martini Silicei Archiepiscopi Toletani de diuino nomine Iesus . . . liber vnus (Toleti).
 Azpilcueta, Relectio, &c. (Coimbra).
 Francisco de Támara, Suma y erudicion de gramatica en metro castellano (Antwerp).
 Lodovico Dolce, Osservazioni sulla lingua volgare (Venezia).
 Louis Meigret, Traité de la grammaire française.
 Fray Martin de la Cueva, De corrupto docende grammaticae latine genere (Antuerpiae).
 Luis de Molina, Descripcion del Reino de Galicia (Mondoñedo).
 Gonzalo Pérez, De la Ulyxea de Homero. Span. tr. (Salamanca).
 Clenardus, Epistolae.
 Ronsard, Odes.

- Accession of Julius III.
 (Nov.) João III and Queen Catherina visit Coimbra University.
 Discussion between Las Casas and Sepúlveda at Valladolid.
 Teive, Costa, and Buchanan arrested by the Inquisition in Portugal.
 Bishop of Coria, Visitor of Salamanca University.
 *Agrippa d'Aubigné.
 †Cristóbal de Castillejo.
 †Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander).
 †Pedro Sanchez Ciruelo.
 †Andrea Alciato.
 1550? *Francisco Sanchez the Sceptic.
 *Juan de la Cueva.
 c. 1550 School for deaf and dumb founded at Oña (Navarre).

Contemporary Literature

Straparola, *Le tredici piacevolissime notti*, Pt. i (Venezia).
Basel edition of Politian's Works.
c. 1550 Sá de Miranda, *Cleopatra*.

Contemporary Events

1551

His name not on the 1551-2 Salamanca matriculation list.

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| Catalogus librorum qui prohibentur (Pintiae). | (July 12) Philip II lands at Barcelona. |
| Domingo de Soto, <i>Institucion . . . de como se ha de evitar el abuso de los juramentos</i> (Toledo). | (Feb. 11) Cano leaves Salamanca to attend Council of Trent. |
| Fray Diego de Zúñiga, <i>Estimulo de humildad y caridad</i> (Toledo). | Orozco becomes Prior of Augustinian convent at Valladolid. |
| Vicente Alvarez, <i>Relacion del camino y buen viaje</i> [of Philip II in 1548]. | Fray Mancio de Corpus Christi wins Chair of Santo Tomás at Alcalá. |
| Martín Cortés, <i>Breue compendio de la Sphera y de la Arte de Navegar</i> (Seuilla). | College of Jesuits opened at Evora. |
| Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, <i>Romances</i> (Antwerp). | *Vicente Martínez Espinel. |
| More's <i>Utopia</i> . Eng. tr. | *Martín Antonio del Río. |
| Plutarch. Span. tr., Francisco de Enzinas. | †Juan Gelida. |
| Nicolas Monardes, <i>De rosa et partibus eius</i> (Antuerpiae). | †Pero Mexia. |
| Aonii Palearii <i>Orationes</i> . | †Martín Bucer. |
| 1551-4 Lopez de Castanheda, <i>Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India</i> , Books I-VII. | 1551? Francisco Ribalta. |

1552

His name reappears in matriculation lists as student of theology (1552-5).

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| Vasaeus, <i>Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae tomus prior</i> (Salmanticae). | Marriage of Prince João and Infanta Juana. |
| Servet, <i>Dialogues on the Trinity</i> . | Cano appointed Bishop of the Canary Isles. |
| Soto, <i>De cauendo iuramentorum abusu</i> (Salmanticae). | Cranmer revises the English Book of Common Prayer. |
| Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, <i>Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias</i> (Seuilla). | Military Colleges of Calatrava and Alcántara founded at Salamanca. |
| Aquí se contiene una disputa o controuersia entre el obispo dō fray Bartolomé de las Casas . . . y el doctor Ginés de Sepúlveda (Seuilla). | *Edmund Spenser. |
| Francisco Lopez de Gomara, <i>Hispania Victrix</i> (<i>Historia general de las Indias</i>) (Zaragoza). | *Sir Walter Raleigh. |
| Cipriano Suarez, <i>Arte de Rhetorica</i> . | *Gabiello Chiabrera. |
| Pedro Juan Núñez, <i>Institutiones Oratoriae</i> (Valencia). | †San Francisco Xavier. |
| | †Bernardim Ribeiro. |
| | †Lilius Giraldus. |
| | †Paolo Giovio. |

1552 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Simancas, De catholicis institutionibus (Pintiae).
 Diego Pisador, Libro de mvsica de vihuela (Salamanca).
 Xenophon. Span. tr. Diego Gracian (Salamanca).
 Juan de Quiros, Cristopathia (Toledo) [With a Spanish sonnet by Arias Montano].
 Plautus, ed. J. Kammermeister.
 Ronsard, Amours.
 Barros, Decada I (Lisboa).
 Prematicas sobre los trajes, brocados, oros y sedas.
 Bartolomé Palau, Farsa Salamantina.

Contemporary Events

1553

- Alfonso García Matamoros, De asserēda Hispanorū eruditione, siue De viris Hispaniae doctis narratio apologetica (Complvlti).
 Miguel Servet, Christianismi restitutio.
 Pedro de Cieza de Leon, La Chronica del Peru (Seuilla).
 Florian de Ocampo, Cronica general. Book V.
 Biblia en lengua española (Ferrara).
 Achilles Estaço, De Horatii Arte Poetica commentarium (Antwerp).
 Todaslas Decadas de Tito Livio. Span. tr. [F. de Enzinas?] (Coloniae).
 Sophocles, ed. Adrien Turnèbe (Paris).
 Samuel Usque, Consolaçam ás tribulações de Israel (Ferrara).
 Barros, Decada II.
 Thomas Wilson, Art of Rhetoric.
 1553 ? Vives, The Office and Dutie of an Husband. Eng. tr. Thomas Paynell.

- †Edward VI.
 Accession of Mary Tudor.
 Accession of Augustus, Elector of Saxony.
 Inauguration of Mexico University. (Oct. 27) Servet burnt at Geneva.
 Protestants burnt at Ravenna.
 Five students burnt at Lyons.
 (March) Camões leaves Lisbon for India.
 Leon de Castro wins Chair of Greek at Salamanca.
 *Margaret of Valois.
 †Valdivia.
 †Hernán Núñez (El Comendador Griego).
 †Girolamo Fracastoro.
 1553 ? †Cristovam Falcam.
 c. 1553 †Rabelais.

1554

- Arias Montano at the Augustinian Convent at Salamanca shows his Spanish version of *The Song of Songs* to Luis de Leon.
 Fox Morcillo, De imitatione, seu de informandi styli ratione libri II (Antuerpiae). (July) Philip leaves Spain for England.
 Fox Morcillo, De natura philosophiae, seu de Platonis et Aristotelis consensione (Lovanii). Marriage of Philip and Queen Mary. Philip becomes King of Naples.
 Gomez Pereira, Antoniana Marganta (Methymnae Campi). Execution of Lady Jane Grey.
 Colegio Trilingue inaugurated at Salamanca.

Contemporary Literature

- Fadrique Furió Ceriol, *Institutiones Rhetoricae* (Lovanii).
 Andrés de Laguna, *Annotationes in Dioscoridem* (Lyon).
 Pedro Juan Núñez, *Oratio de causis obscuritatis aristoteleae*, etc. (Valencia).
 Fray Luis de Granada, *Libro de la Oracion y Meditacion* (Salamanca).
 Orozco, *Recopilacion de todas las obras* (Valladolid).
 Fray Diego de Estella, *Tratado de la vida . . . del glorioso Apostol . . . San Iuan* (Lisbona).
 Politian, *Sylvae*, ed. El Brocense (Salamanca).
 Lazarillo de Tormes [earliest extant editions].
 Las Obras de George de Montemayor (*Segundo Cancionero*) (Antwerp).
 Ribeiro, *Hystoria de Menina e Moça* (Ferrara).
 Aesop, *Fabulae* (Lyon).
 Miguel de Fuenllana, *Libro de musica para vihuela*, &c. (Sevilla).

Contemporary Events

- Orozco becomes preacher to the Emperor.
 Henri Estienne's press begins work at Geneva.
 Don Carlos de Seso fosters Lutheranism at Toro and Valladolid.
Auto de fe at Valladolid.
 (Jan. 20) *King Sebastian.
 *Richard Hooker.
 *Jacques Auguste de Thou.
 (Jan. 2) †Prince João.
 1554-6 Francisco de la Torre studies at Alcalá.

1555

- Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando, *Isagogae sive Introductio in Aristotelis Dialecticam* (Compluti).
 Bartolomé de Carranza, *Instruccion de como todo christiano deue oyr Misa* (Antwerp).
 Cancionero de romances (Antwerp).
 Hernán Núñez, *Refranes o Proverbios en romance*, ed. Leon de Castro (Salamanca).
 Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru* (Antwerp).
 Felipe de la Torre, *Institucion de un rey cristiano* (Antwerp).
 Francisco de Torres, *De sola lectione Legis et Prophetarum Iudaeis permittenda*.
 Io. Lodovici Vivis Valentini *Opera*. 2 vols. (Basileae).
 Vives, *Libro llamado Instruccion de la Mujer Cristiana*. Span. tr. (Çaragoça).
 Francisco Sanchez [of Orgaz], *Relacion de la nueua de la conuersion de los ingleses luteranos*.
 (Aug. 29) Philip leaves England.
 †Julius III.
 †Marcellus II (May 23).
 Accession of Cardinal Caraffa as Paul IV.
 (Oct. 25) Abdication of Charles V. Philip appointed Governor of Flanders.
 Paul IV excommunicates Charles V and Philip II.
 Paul IV allies himself with France and the Sultan of Turkey against Spain.
 Latimer and Ridley burnt at Oxford. Teive ordered to hand over Colegio Real at Coimbra to the Jesuits.
 Antonio Agustín goes as Legate to England.
 Pedro de Soto at Oxford.
 *François Malherbe.
 *Pedro de Valencia.
 †Queen Juana.
 †San Tomás de Villanueva.
 †Florián de Ocampo.
 †Olympia Morata.
 1555? *Frei Luis de Sousa.

1555 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Las Obras del Poeta Ausias March
[With Castilian vocabulary] (Valladolid).
I. Casaubon, De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes xvi (Geneva).
Bernardino Telesio, De rerum natura iuxta propria principia (Romae).

Contemporary Events

- 1555-8 Duke of Alba Viceroy of Naples.

1556

In the first half of the year he is *lector* at the Augustinian convent at Soria (six months). His name appears on the Alcalá University matriculation list of 1556-7.

- Fox Morcillo, De regni regisque institutione libri III (Antuerpiae).
Fox Morcillo, De usu et exercitatione dialecticae (Basileae).
Domingo de Soto, De iustitia et iure (Salmanticae).
Fray Luis de Granada, Guía de Pecadores (Lisboa).
Juan de Valverde, Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano (Salamanca).
Juan Pérez, El Testamento Nuevo Span. tr. (Venecia).
Azpilcueta, Manual de confesores. Revised ed. (Salamanca).
Las obras muy devotas de San Francisco de Borja (Antwerp).
Ioannis Ioviani Pontani Opera. 4 vols. (Basileae).
Fray Bernardino de Riberol, Libro contra la ambicion y codicia desordenada de aqueste tiempo (Alabanza de la pobreza) (Sevilla).

- (Jan. 16) Charles V abdicates Crown of Spain.
Diet of Ratisbon.
Papal Bull *In Coena Domini*.
Juan de Guevara wins Chair of Santo Tomás at Salamanca.
Execution of Archbishop Cranmer.
*Traiano Boccalini.
†San Ignacio de Loyola.
†Giovanni della Casa.
1556-60 Don Francisco Manrique de Lara is Bishop of Salamanca.

1557

(May) He pronounces a Latin oration at the Augustinian Chapter held at Dueñas.

- Sepúlveda, Epistolarum libri VII (Salmanticae).
Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando, Commentarij in quinque voces Porphirij (Compluti).
Francisco de Vitoria, Theologicae Relectiones.
Domingo de Soto, In quartum librum Sententiarum, &c.
†João III.
Charles V retires to Yuste.
(Aug. 10) Spanish victory of St. Quentin.
French recover Calais.
(Sept.) Peace between Spain and the Pope.
(Sept. 27) Alba enters Rome.
(March-Aug.) Philip II in England.

Contemporary Literature

- Pedro de Soto, *Defensio catholicae confessionis*.
Aristotle, *De Anima*, comm. Miguel de Palacios (Salamanca).
Cancionero General (Anvers).
Juan Pérez, *Los Psalmos de David*. Span. tr. (Venecia).
Juan Pérez, *Sumario de la doctrina cristiana* (Venecia).
Alvarez, *Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia*. Span. tr. (Anvers).
Bras de Albuquerque, *Commentarios*.

Contemporary Events

- San Francisco de Borja at Yuste.
Sepúlveda goes to Salamanca after visiting the Emperor at Yuste.
Guevara wins Chair of Durando at Salamanca.
Santa Teresa meets San Francisco de Borja at Avila.
(Oct. 27) Pedro Malón de Chaide professes in Augustinian convent at Salamanca.
†Cardinal Siliceo.
†Fray Alonso de Castro.
†Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo.
†Antonio Galvam.
†Canon Juan de Vergara

1558

1558? He takes the degree of Bachiller at Toledo University.
(Oct. 31) He 'incorporates' this degree at Salamanca.

- Fray Bartolomé de Carranza, *Commentarios . . . sobre el Catecismo Cristiano* (Anvers).
El Brocense, *De arte dicendi* (Salmanticae).
Cano, *Relectio de Poenitentia* (Relectio de Sacramentis) (Compluti).
Cardillo de Villalpando, *Commentarius in Categorías Aristotelis* (Compluti).
Luis de Lemos, *Paradoxorum dialecticorum libri duo* (Salmanticae).
Gomez Pereira, *Novae veraeque medicinae*, &c.
Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, *Enchiridion graecae linguae* (Lugduni).
F. du Chesne (Enzinas) *Histoire de l'Estat du Pais Bas et de la religion d'Espagne* (Geneva).
Comienzan los proverbios de Salomon [Verse tr. Arias Montano] (Cuenca).
Valles, *Historia del . . . Marqués de Pescara* (Anvers).
Ramón Muntaner, *Chronica del Rey Don Jaume* (Valencia).

- (Feb. 28) Charles V abdicates imperial throne.
(July 15) Spanish victory of Gravelines.
Marriage of Mary Stuart to Dauphin of France.
Carranza returns to Spain as Archbishop of Toledo.
Spanish decree imposes death penalty for reading or possessing forbidden books.
(Sept. 21) †Charles V at Yuste.
(Nov. 17) †Queen Mary.
Accession of Elizabeth.
(Feb.) †Queen Leonor, sister of Charles V.
†Sá de Miranda.
†Cardinal Pole.
†J. C. Scaliger.
†Pedro Margalho.
†Basilio Zanchi.

1559

- Catalogus librorum qui prohibentur* (Toleti).
Fadrique Furió Ceriol, *El Concejo y consejeros del Principe* (Antwerp).
Pedro Monzon, *Elementa Arithmeticae ac Geometriae*.

- (Aug. 18) †Paul IV.
Accession of Pius IV.
(June 9) Assassination of Henri II.
Accession of François II.
(April 2) Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis between France and England and

1559 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Fray Francisco de Alcocer, *Tratado del Iuego* (Salamanca).
 Fernando Vazquez Menchaca, *De successionum creatione* (Salman-ticae).
 Amyot, *Vies de Plutarque*.
 1559? Montemayor, *Los Siete Libros de Diana* (Valencia).

Contemporary Events

- (April 3) between France and Spain. Margaret of Palma becomes Regent of the Netherlands.
 Diet of Augsburg.
 Foundation of Jena University.
 Spanish expedition under Medina Celi to Tripoli.
 (Aug. 22) Archbishop Carranza arrested by the Inquisition.
 John Knox returns to Scotland from Geneva.
 (May 21) Cano preaches at *auto de fe* at Valladolid.
 (Sept. 24) Don Juan Ponce de Leon burnt as heretic at Seville.
 (Oct. 8) Philip II attends second Valladolid *auto de fe*.
 (Nov. 22) Decree forbidding Spaniards to study abroad.
 Committee (Francisco Sancho, Leon de Castro, Vasaeus, and three others) appointed by Salamanca University to examine books.
 Diego de Covarrubias becomes Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo.
 *Archduke Charles.
 *Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola.
 †Conradus Goclenius.
 †Robert Estienne.
 †Lopez de Castanheda.
 1559? †Fox Morcillo.
 1559-71 Duke of Alcalá Viceroy of Naples.

1560

(May 5-7) He passes examination and takes degree of Licentiate in Theology at Salamanca. (June 30) receives degree of Master of Theology in Salamanca Cathedral. (July 18) Grajal defeats him and six other candidates for Chair of Biblical Exegesis. Brings and wins an action against the Syndic of the University. (End of 1560 or early in 1561) Pronounces funeral oration for Soto in the new Cathedral at Salamanca.

Calvin's second French translation of his *Institutio*.
 Geneva Bible.

Juan de Ávila, *Audi filia*.
 Joseph Scaliger, *De tragediis et comediis*.

Lorenzo Palmireno, *De ratione imitandi Ciceronem* (Caesaraugustae).
Constitutiones Collegii Sancti Ildelfonsi (Compluti)

(Jan. 31) Marriage of Philip II to Isabel de Valois at Toledo.

(Feb.) Oath taken to Don Carlos, 15th Prince of Asturias, at Toledo.

Court removed from Valladolid to Madrid.

(March) Spanish fleet defeated. Disastrous expedition to Los Gelbes.

Decree forbidding Moriscos to have negro slaves.

Contemporary Literature

Bernardo Tasso, *Amadigi* (Venezia).
Lazarillo. French. tr. Saugrain: *Les faits merveilleux*, &c.

Contemporary Events

Cortes propose that Spanish inns should have adequate supply of food.
(Dec. 22) *Auto de fe* at Seville.
Bishop Covarrubias, Visitor of Salamanca University.
Gregorio Gallo retires from Chair of Bible at Salamanca.
(March 25) *Oficios divinos* solemnly transferred from Old to New Cathedral at Salamanca.
General Chapter of Franciscans at Salamanca attended by over 1,000 friars.
Colegio de Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles founded at Salamanca.
†François II.
Accession of Charles IX.
†Domingo de Soto.
†Cano at Toledo.
†Cipriano de la Huerca.
†Gaspar Lax de Sarifiena.
†Melanchthon.
†Joachim du Bellay.
†Luisa Sigea.
†Andrés de Laguna.
†Andrés de Vega.
1560-74 D. Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, son of Duque de Infantado, is Bishop of Salamanca.

1561

- (April 1) Gaspar de Baeza writes to Lope de Leon congratulating him on his son's funeral oration.
(Dec.) Wins Chair of Santo Tomás, held since 1557 by Martín de Peralta. Translates *The Song of Songs* for Doña Isabel Osorio, a nun in the Salamanca convent of Sancti Spiritus.
Estatvtos hechos por la mvy insigne Vniuersidad de Salamanca.
Valdés, *Copilacion de las Instrucciones del Oficio de la Santa Inquisicion* (Madrid).
Martínez de Brea, *De Coelo et Mundo* (Compluti).
Cristóbal de Castillejo, *Obras* (Antwerp).
Melanchthon's Works.
Marsilii Ficini . . . *Opera* . . . *Omnia* (Basileae).
Frei Hektor Pinto, *In Isaiam Prophetam Commentaria* (Lugduni).
J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (s. l.).
Santa Teresa founds at Ávila her first convent of Barefoot Carmelite nuns.
Submission of Vaudois.
(Sept. 21) Great fire at Valladolid.
(Oct. 28) *Auto de fe* at Valladolid.
Martín Martínez, of Cantalapiedra, wins Chair of Hebrew (*cátedra de propiedad*) at Salamanca and takes degrees of Licenciado (Nov.) and Maestro (Dec.) in Theology.
Guevara continues in Chair of Durando.
Antomo Agustín becomes Bishop of Lérida.
Granvelle becomes Cardinal.

1561 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

Lazarillo, French tr. Saugrain, 2nd ed.: *L'histoire plaisante*, &c.

Contemporary Events

*Francis Bacon.
*Luis de Góngora
†Jorge de Montemayor.
†Alonso de Berruguete.
1561? †Vasaeus.

1562

(July 14) Death of his Father.

(Sept.) Goes from Salamanca to Granada to see his Mother, passing through Valladolid to lay a matter before the Inquisition.

Constitutioes tam commodae aptaeque quam sanctae Almae Salmanticensis Academiae toto orbe florentissimae (Salmanticae).

El Brocense, Grammatices Latinae Institutiones (Salmanticae).

Benito Pereira, Physicorum, sive de principiis rerum materialium, etc. (Romae).

Diego de Covarrubias, Veterum collectio numismatum (Salmanticae).

Juan Pérez de Moya, Arismetica practica et especvlativa (Salamanca).

Fray Francisco de Córdoba, De haereticis recipiendis (Prague).

Fray Antonio de Córdoba, Arma fidei (Compluti).

Aristotle, Physica. Lat. tr. Francisco Valles (Compluti).

Thucydides. Span. tr. Diego Gracian (Salamanca).

Ronsard, Discours des misères du temps.

Torquato Tasso, Rinaldo (Venezia).

First edition of Gil Vicente's Works.

Zurita, Anales de la Corona de Aragon. Books I–XV (Zaragoza).

(Jan. 18) Council of Trent reopens. First religious war in France

(Jan.–June) Santa Teresa leaves Ávila and stays at Toledo.

Moriscos of Valencia are deprived of arms.

*Lope de Vega.

*Oliva Sabuco.

*Samuel Daniel.

†San Pedro de Alcántara.

1563

(May) Attends the Augustinian Chapter at Dueñas and is appointed Definidor.

Fray Melchor Cano, De locis theologicis libri duodecim (Salmanticae).

Juan de Timoneda, Sobremesa y alivio de caminantes (Zaragoza).

Fernando Vazquez Menchaca, Controversiarum illustrium libri III.

Fray Tomás de Trujillo, Libro llamado Reprobacion de trajes (Estella).

Council of Trent ends.

Cortes at Monzon.

Murder of Duc de Guise.

Building of El Escorial begun.

Hector Rodriguez wins Prima Chair of Law at Salamanca.

Bernardino Ochino aet. 76 forced to leave Zurich owing to the publication of his book on Free-will.

Contemporary Literature

- Petri Rami . . . Oratio de professione liberalium artium (Parisiis).
 Frei Heitor Pinto, Imagem da Vida Christam.
 Garcia da Orta, Coloquios dos Simples (Goa).
 Antonio Galvam, Tratado, &c.
 Barros, Decada III.
 Frei Francisco Foreiro, Isaiaae Prophetæ vetus et nova ex Hebraico versio cum commentario (Venetiis) [also Antuerpiae, 1565].

Contemporary Events

- *Gerónimo de Alcalá Yañez.
 (March 17) †Cardinal Seripando.
 †Pedro de Soto at Trent.
 †Portuguese Greek scholar Antonio Luis.
 †Diego de Siloe.
 †La Boétie.
 †Henricus Glareanus.
 1563 ? Murder of Gaspar Corrêa at Malaca.

1564

Lectures De Charitate.

Is fined a ducat for dictating during his lectures.

1564-5. Lectures *De Incarnatione.*

- Index librorum prohibitorum (Romæ).
 Pedro da Fonseca, Institutionum Dialecticarum Libri VIII (Olyssipone).
 Fray Miguel de Medina, Christiana Parænesis.
 Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio, De œconomia sacra circa pauperum curam (Antverpiae).
 Juan Pérez de Moya, Arte de navegar.
 Fray Francisco Orantes, Locorum catholicorum pro Romana fide adversus Calvinii Institutiones Libri VII (Venetiis).
 Gaspar Gil Polo, Diana Enamorada. Pt. I.
 Fernando Vazquez Menchaca, De successionum progressu (Venetiis).

- Maximilian II succeeds Ferdinand I as Emperor.
 Decrees of Council of Trent sanctioned in Spain.
 Phillip II at Barcelona.
 Franciscan Convent established at Salamanca.
 Chairs of Greek, Hebrew, and Rhetoric founded at Valladolid University.
 San Juan de la Cruz professes in reformed Carmelite Order.
 Diego de Covarrubias becomes Bishop of Segovia.
 Osorio becomes Bishop of Silves.
 Fray Mancio de Corpus Christi succeeds Fray Pedro de Sotomayor in Prima Chair of Theology at Salamanca.
 Granvelle leaves Brussels.
 *Shakespeare.
 *Galileo.
 *Christopher Marlowe.
 *Juan Marquez.
 *Francisco Pacheco.
 †Vesalius.
 †Bernardino Ochino.
 †Mathurin Cordier aet. 84.
 †Calvin.

1565

- (March) He supports Guevara's candidature for the Vespers Chair of Theology.
 (March 16) He wins Chair of Durando.
 Is ill in bed during the summer.
 Votes in Claustro against *partido* for Gallo.

1565 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio, De recte formando theologiae studio libri quatuor (Antverpiae).
 Orozco, Historia de la Reyna Saba (Salamanca).
 Orozco, Regalis Institvtio (Complvti).
 Martín Martínez, Hypotiposeon theologicarum... Libri X (Salmanticae).
 Perpiñá, Orationes quinque (Romae).
 Fray Miguel de Medina, Disputationes de Indulgentiis.
 Diego de Simancas, Collectaneorum de Republica libri novem (Vallisoleti).
 Jerónimo de Urrea, Diálogo de la verdadera honrra militar (Venecia).
 Cinthio, Hecatommithi.
 Fray Alonso de Castro, Opera Omnia (Parisiis).
 Fray Tomás de Santa Maria, Libro llamado Arte de tañer fantasía, etc. (Valladolid).

Contemporary Events

- (Dec. 10) †Pius IV.
 Siege of Malta by the Turks.
 Diocesan Council at Salamanca attended by Archbishop of Santiago and fourteen bishops.
 Quiroga becomes Bishop of the Canary Islands.
 Juan Gallo receives special Chair (*partido de Teología*) at Salamanca after being defeated for that of Vespers by Guevara.
 †Michael Angelo.
 †Conrad Gesner.
 †Adrien Turnèbe.
 †Lope de Rueda.
 †Matteo Bandello.
 c. 1565 *Bernaldo de Aldrete.

1566

Is appointed Administrator of the Augustinian College of San Guillermo at Salamanca.

- Juan Huarte de San Juan, Examen de Ingenios
 Perpiñá, De humana diuinaque philosophia discenda (Parisiis).
 Azpilcueta, Tratado de las rentas de los beneficios eclesiásticos (Valladolid).
 Pedro Monzó, Compositio totius artis dialecticae (Valentiae).
 Damião de Goes, Cronica (of King Manuel).
 H. Estienne, Apologie pour Hérodote.
 Juan Fragoso, Catalogus simplicium medicamentorum (Compluti).
 Catullus, ed. Achilles Estaço (Venetis)

- Accession of Pius V.
 Desecration of Antwerp Cathedral and other atrocities committed in Flanders.
 Carranza sent from Valladolid to Rome.
 Decree forbidding Moriscos use of Arabic.
 Philip II begins to form Archive of Simancas.
 Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo Visitor of Salamanca University.
 †Fray Bartolomé de las Casas aet. 92.
 †D. Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia.
 †Honorato Juan, Bishop of Osma.
 †Pedro Juan Perpiñá.
 †Antonio Cabezon.
 †Antonio de Gouvêa.
 †Annibale Caro.
 †Marco Girolamo Vida.
 1566 ? Aonio Paleario strangled and burnt at Rome.

1567

He makes the acquaintance of Salinas.

Is twice appointed Vice-Rector of Salamanca University.

1567-8. Lectures *De Fide*.

Contemporary Literature

- Juan de Mal Lara, In Syntaxim scholia (Hispani).
 Reynaldo Gonzalez de Montes (Montanus), Inquisitionis hispanicae artes detectae (Heidelberg).
 Fray Antonio Rubio, Assertionum catholicarum adversus Erasmi Roterodami pestilentissimos errores Libri IX (Salmanticae).
 Pedro de Fontidueñas, Obras (Barcelona).
 Fray Luis de Granada, Libro de la Oracion [new edition].
 Goes, Chronica do Principe dom Ioam (Lisboa).
 P. Jovio, Historia general. Span. tr. Gaspar de Baeza, Vol. II (Salamanca).
 P. Jovio, Elogios. Span. tr. Gaspar de Baeza (Granada).
 Justus Lipsius, Variae lectiones.

Contemporary Events

- Huguenot war in France [second religious war].
 Duke of Alba sent to subdue Flanders.
 James I succeeds Mary Stuart on the throne of Scotland.
 Azpilcueta goes to Rome.
 (Jan. 21) Salinas succeeds Juan de Oviedo in Chair of Music at Salamanca.
 *Infanta Isabel.
 *St. François de Sales.
 *Thomas Nash.
 1567 ? *Thomas Campion.

1568

He makes acquaintance with El Brocense.

- Opposes the candidature of the Portuguese Hieronymite Frei Heitor Pinto.
 Juan de Mal Lara, La Philosophia vulgar [proverbs] (Sevilla).
 Antonio Llull, De Oratione libri septem (Basileae).
 Fray Miguel de Medina, De sacrorum hominum continentia.
 Osorio, De Gloria (Compluti), new edition.
 Leon Hebreo, Los Dialogos de Amor. Span. tr. (Venetia).
 Frei Heitor Pinto, In Ezechielem Commentaria (Salmanticae).

- Mary Stuart takes refuge in England.
 (June 5) Execution of Egmont and Horne.
 Doña Leonor de Cisneros burnt at Valladolid.
 Arias Montano goes to supervise printing of Polyglot Bible at Antwerp.
 Frei Heitor Pinto competes unsuccessfully for Chair at Salamanca.
 Hurtado de Mendoza is banished to Granada.
 Dissection introduced at Salamanca University.
 *Bernaldo de Balbuena.
 *Honoré d'Urfé.
 *Campanella.
 †Infante Carlos.
 †Archbishop Fernando de Valdés (Aug. 21).
 †La Valette.
 †Roger Ascham.
 †Miles Coverdale.
 1568-71 Alpujarras insurrection of Moriscos.

1569

(May) Augustinian Chapter at Dueñas.

He serves on a stormy Committee concerning the text of Vatable's Bible.

Is re-elected for four years to Durando Chair.

(Nov. 29) Is elected member of Committee to consider increase of salary for smaller Chairs.

Contemporary Literature

Arias Montano, *Rhetoricorum libri quatuor* (Antuerpiae).

Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando, *In Aristotelis Topica* (Compluti).

Aristotle, *Priora Analytica*, comm.

Juan Bautista Monllor (Valencia).

Nicolas Monardes, *Dos libros, el uno de todas las cosas que traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales*, &c. (Seuilla); [later Eng. tr., *Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde*. See year 1577].

Montanus, *A discovery and playne declaration of sundry subtil practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne*. Eng. tr. (London).

Pedro Simon Abril, *Methodus latinae linguae docendae* (Zaragoza).

Ercilla, *La Araucana*. Pt. I.

Fray Jeronimo Roman, *Chronica de la Orden de los Ermitaños del Glorioso Padre Sancto Augustin* (Salamanca).

Casiodoro de la Reina, *La Biblia, que es los sacros libros*, etc. [First Span. tr., *La Biblia del Oso*].

Juan Lopez Hoyos, *Historia . . . de la enfermedad . . . de la serenissima Reina* (Madrid).

Contemporary Events

Roman Catholic insurrection in North of England.

Plague at Lisbon.

(April) Don Juan de Austria leaves for Granada to take command in the war.

*Guillen de Castro.

*Frei Bernardo de Brito.

†Juan de Ávila.

†Gomez Pereira.

†Gregorio Silvestre.

†Fray Luis de Montoya aet. 72.

†Antonio Ferreira.

†Fernando Vazquez Menchaca.

1570

(Feb. 11) Leaves Salamanca for Madrid.

(March–April) He follows the Court to Córdoba.

(April 24) Leaves Córdoba and spends the summer at Belmonte, returning to Salamanca for the beginning of the October term.

García Matamoros, *De tribus dicendi generibus, sive de recta informandi styli ratione* (Compluti).

Leon de Castro, *Commentaria in Esaiam Prophetam* (Salmanticae).

Gaspar de Grajal, *In Micheam Commentaria* (Salmanticae).

Bartolomé de Barrientos, *Brevissimae in Somnium Scipionis explanationes* (Salmanticae).

Frei Heitor Pinto, *Commentarium in Ezechielem* (Antuerpiae). New ed.

(Nov. 12) Marriage of Philip II to Anne of Austria.

(Jan. 13) Philip II leaves Madrid for Córdoba, returning in June.

(May 1) Philip II arrives at Seville.

End of third religious war in France.

(Oct. 31) Santa Teresa arrives at Salamanca.

Camões returns to Lisbon.

Execution of Montigny at Simancas.

(Jan. and Feb.) Bartolomé de Medina takes degrees of Licentiate and

Contemporary Literature

- Bartolomé de Barrientos, *Synonymorum liber* (Salmanticae).
 Bartolomé de Barrientos, *Annotationum sylvæ* (Salmanticae).
 Pedro de Azevedo, *Recreacion del alma y defensa del Evangelio contra la supersticion astrológica* (Sevilla).
 Martín de Tapia, *Vergel de Mvsica* (Burgo de Osma).
 Diego de Fuentes, *Conqvista de Africa* (Antwerp).
 Amyot, *Oeuvres morales de Plutarque*.
 Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London).
 Mal Lara, *Recibimiento, &c.* (Sevilla).

Contemporary Events

- Master of Theology at Salamanca.
 *Basilio Ponce de Leon (†1629).
 †John Knox.
 †João de Barros.
 1570 ? *Thomas Dekker.
 1570 ? †Paez de Castro.
 c. 1570 Protestantism considered suppressed in Spain.
 c. 1570 *Alexandre Hardy.
 c. 1570 †Garcia da Orta.

1571

Jan. to middle of March, is at Belmonte.
 Is ill during the whole of the summer vacation.
 Lectures *De Prædestinatione*.

- Bartolomé de Medina denounces seventeen propositions to the Inquisition.
 Arias Montano, *Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antuerpiae).
 Sepúlveda, *De Regno et Regis Officio libri tres* (Ilerdae).
 Martín Martínez, *Institutiones in linguam sanctam* (Salmanticae).
 Diego Fernandez, *Primera y segvnda parte de la Historia del Perv* (Sevilla).
 Nicolas Monardes, *Diálogo del hierro y de sus grandezas* (Seuilla).
 Juan Lizarraga, *Jesus Christ gure Jaunaren Testamentu Berria* (La Rochelle).
 Osorio, *De Rebvs Emanvelis* (Olyssipone).
 Osorio, *De Regis institutione et disciplina* (Olyssipone).
 Frei Heitor Pinto, *Imagen*. Span. tr. (Zaragoza).
 1571-99 Luis del Marmol Carbajal, *Descripcion de Affrica* (Granada).
 Bull of Pius V deposing Elizabeth.
 Alliance of Spain, Venice, and the Pope against the Turks.
 (Oct. 7) Battle of Lepanto.
 (Oct. 31) News of the victory reaches Madrid.
 Santa Teresa founds convent at Salamanca.
 Ana de Jesús professes at Salamanca.
 Portocarrero becomes Governor of Galicia.
 Quiroga becomes Bishop of Cuenca.
 Goes arrested by the Inquisition at Lisbon.
 *Tirso de Molina [or 1572].
 *Johann Kepler.
 †Juan de Mal Lara.
 †Juan de Juni.
 †Cellini.
 1571-5 Cardinal Granvelle Viceroy of Naples.

1572

- (March 1) Arrest of Grajal at Salamanca.
 (March 5) Submits substance of his lectures on the Vulgate to Inquisitor Diego González at Salamanca.
 (March 13) Writes pressing for Archbishop of Granada's signed approval of his views on the Vulgate.
 (March 15) González recommends his arrest.
 (March 25) Diego de Valladolid, of Salamanca, goes bail for him in 2,000 ducats.

1572 *cont.*

- (March 26) Francisco de Almansa sent to arrest him.
 (March 27) Enters prison of Inquisition at Valladolid at 6 p.m.
 (March 31) Asks for certain books, &c.
 (April 15) First audience.
 (April 18) Presents supplementary reply in writing.
 (May 5) *Fiscal* presents formal accusation.
 (May 10) Dr. Ortiz Funes appointed his advocate.
 (Dec. 10) Complains of delay.
 (Dec. 21) Presents seven propositions concerning the text of Scripture.
 Arias Montano sends copies of his first books to Luis de Leon.

Contemporary Literature

- Miguel de Palacios, In Esaiam (Salmanticae).
 Vazquez Menchaca, Libri tres controversiarum (new ed.).
 Francisco de Ávila, Recreacion del alma (Alcalá).
 P. Ribadeneira, Vita Ignatii de Loyola (Naples).
 Fray Andrés de Vega, Doctrina universal de iustificatione (Coloniae), new ed.
 Jorge de Montemayor, Cancionero (Alcalá).
 Juan Fragoso, Discurso de las cosas aromáticas de la India Oriental (Madrid).
 Juan de Arfe y Villafañe, Qvilatador de la plata, oro y piedras (Valladolid).
 Frei Heitor Pinto, Segunda Parte dos Dialogos.
 Herrera, Relacion de la Guerra de Chipre [with Lepanto ode].
 Camões, Os Lusíadas (Lisboa).
 Torquato Tasso, Aminta.

Contemporary Events

- Fourth religious war in France
 (May 1) †Pius V.
 Accession of Gregory XIII.
 (Aug. 24) Massacre of Saint-Barthélemy.
 Foundation of Accademia della Crusca.
 University founded at Tarragona.
 Justus Lipsius becomes Professor at Jena University.
 Covarrubias succeeds Espinosa as President of the Council of Castille.
 (Dec. 29) Pedro Ponce de Leon, Bishop of Plasencia, succeeds Espinosa as Grand Inquisitor.
 (March 26) Martínez arrested by the Inquisition.
 (July 18) Fray Alonso Gudiel enters the cells of the Inquisition at Valladolid.
 †San Francisco de Borja.
 †Pierre de la Ramée (Ramus).
 †Francisco de Moraes.
 †Jeanne d'Albret.
 †Duque de Feria.
 1572 or 1573 †Sepúlveda.
 1572-7 Diplomatic relations broken off between Spain and England.
 1572 (Aug.)-end of 1573 Bright new star observed near Kappa of Cassiopeia.

1573

- (Jan. 13) Supreme Court censures Valladolid Inquisitors for hearing defence in Leon's trial before publication of the depositions of witnesses for the prosecution.
 (Jan. 21) Complains of delay.
 (Jan. 26 and March 7) Asks permission to name persons to represent him in securing extension of his professorial term.
 (March 3) Depositions of witnesses published.
 (Beg. of March to April 1) Is examined as to the evidence of these witnesses.
 (April 3) Three additional witnesses answered.

- (April 5) Request for more books from his library granted.
 (April 15) Asks to be told the reason for his arrest.
 (April 15) Gaoler, Francisco de Pedrosa, informs the Inquisitors of the death of Gudiel. Celedon Gústín is sent to examine the body.
 (June 13) Receives the books.
 (July 21) Receives papers from his cell.
 (Oct. 20 and Nov. 7) Complains of delay.
 (Nov. 3) Evidence of more witnesses published.

Contemporary Literature

- Biblia Sacra [Arias Montano's edition of Polyglot Bible], 6 vols. (Antwerp).
 Azpicueta, *Enchiridion sive manuale Confessariorum* (Romae), 1st Lat. ed.
 El Brocense, *Comm. on Alciato* (Lugdunum).
 Bartolomé de Barrientos, *De periodicis ordinandibus*.
 Francisco Sarmiento, *De redditibus ecclesiasticis*.

Contemporary Events

- (March 7) Venice makes separate peace with Turkey.
 (Oct.) Requesens replaces Alba as Governor of Flanders.
 (Oct.) Don Juan of Austria captures Tunis.
 (April 20) Quiroga succeeds Ponce de Leon (†Jan. 17) as Grand Inquisitor.
 Santa Teresa returns to Salamanca.
 El Brocense wins Chair of Rhetoric at Salamanca.
 (Aug.-Dec.) Princess de Eboli a Carmelite nun.
 *Rodrigo Caro.
 *Mathurin Régnier.
 *John Donne.
 †Infanta Juana, mother of King Sebastian.
 (July) †Ruy Gomez, Prince of Eboli.
 †André de Resende.
 †Étienne Jodelle.
 1573-4 Siege of Leyden.
 1573-91 Mateo Vazquez Secretary.
 1573-6 Fray Juane de Guevara, Prior of Augustinian convent at Salamanca.

1574

- (Jan. 11) Complains of delay.
 (Jan. 25) Writes defence against the new witnesses (nos. 21 and 22).
 (March 20) Is examined concerning 17 propositions.
 (March 22) Defends himself against thirty accusations.
 (March 26) Has an interview with his counsel.
 (March 29) Presents further defence in writing against the thirty accusations.
 (March 31) Asks that his opinions concerning the Vulgate be submitted to the Archbishop of Granada and Bishops of Segovia, Jaen, and Plasencia.
 (April 1) Suggests Dr. Sebastian Perez for his *patrono*.
 (April 3) Further suggests Canons García and Velazquez and Drs. Ojeda and Ribera. [Subsequently he suggests Dr. Valcacer, Canon of Ávila, Dr. Vadillo, Canon of Palencia, Fray Francisco Cueto, and Cancer.]
 (April 3) Complains of delay.
 (June 26) Is given choice between Salinas, Teran, Cancer and Ramos.
 (June 28) Chooses Perez, Cancer, and Castillo.
 (June 30) Rejects Castillo.
 (July 31) Supreme Court allows him Perez on certain conditions.
 (Aug. 4) Chooses Mancio, Medina, and Cancer.

1574 *cont.*

- (Oct. 9) Fray Mancio presented to him as his *patrono*.
 (Oct. 25) Rejects Mancio.
 (Dec. 7) Again accepts Mancio.

Contemporary Literature

- Arias Montano, Davidis . . . Psalmi ex Hebr. veritate in latinum carmen . . . conversi (Antuerpiae).
 Juan de Ávila, Libro Espiritual.
 Bartolomé de Barrientos, De cometarum explicatione et praedictione (Salmanticae).
 Fray Gregorio de Valencia, De Praedestinatione.
 Diego de Covarrubias, Opera (Lugduni).
 Epistolae principum rerumpublicarum ac sapientium virorum (Venice).
 Fray Diego de Estella, Tratado de la vanidad del mundo (Salamanca).
 Corte Real, Svcesso, &c.
 Martín de Viciania, Libro de alabanzas de las lenguas hebrea, griega, latina, castellana, y valenciana (Valencia).
 1574-86 Ambrosio de Morales, La Cronica General de España [cont. of Florián de Ocampo]

Contemporary Events

- †Charles IX.
 Accession of Henri III.
 Fifth religious war in France.
 Inquisition established in Mexico.
 Foundation of Leyden University.
 Canónigos Premostratenses established at Salamanca.
Relaciones of towns and villages ordered throughout Spain [only 636 sent in].
 Juan de Mariana returns to Spain.
 *Benjamin Jonson.
 †Cosmo de' Medici.
 †Damião de Goes.
 †Cardinal Charles de Lorraine.
 †Joachim Camerarius.
 †Giorgio Vasari.
 1574-5 D. Teutonio de Braganza at Salamanca.
 1574-8 D. Francisco Soto Salazar is Bishop of Salamanca.

1575

- (Jan.) Complains of Mancio's dilatoriness.
 (March 3) Asks to be allowed the Sacraments.
 (March 19) Supreme Court suggests *brevedad*.
 (March 30) Presents long written defence on the seventeen propositions concerning the Vulgate.
 (March 30) Mancio confers with him during nearly four hours concerning his views on the Vulgate.
 (April 17) Mancio pronounces favourably.
 (May 4 and 6, July 14 and Sept. 12) Offers to defend his views on the Vulgate in public discussion with the Calificadores.
 (May 6) Complains of delay.
 (May 6) Asks for Castro's Commentary on Isaiah and the Vatable Bible.
 (July 16) Asks for more books (Sophocles, Pindar, &c.) and clothes.
 (Aug. 20) Complains of fever and neglect.
 (Sept. 6) Grajal asks to be sent to a private house during illness.
 (Sept. 9) Gaoler Cristóbal de Villalpando (temporarily replacing Pedrosa) informs Inquisitors of Grajal's death. Gústín and Monago are sent down to verify decease. Grajal is buried by night in Church of San Pedro.
 (Oct. 8) Supreme Court recommends *toda brevedad*.
 (Nov.) Writes to Grand Inquisitor requesting to be sent to a convent.

Contemporary Literature

Orozco, Catecismo provechoso.
 Don Juan Manuel, El Conde Lvcantor
 (Sevilla), ed. Argote de Molina.
 Gerónimo de Contreras, Selva de
 aventuras (Salamanca).
 Aesopi Fabulae. Span. tr., Pedro
 Simon Abril (Zaragoza).
 Gonçalo Fernandez Trancoso, Contos.
 Books I-III.

Contemporary Events

St. Philip Neri founds Oratorio.
 El Greco at Toledo.
 *Jacob Boehme.
 †Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.
 †Juan Bautista de Toledo.
 1575-9 Marqués de Mondejar, Vice-
 roy of Naples.

(May 5) Formally declares his defence concluded.

(June) Opinion of *Calificadores* received.

(Sept. 28) Valladolid Court pronounces sentence.

(Dec. 7) Supreme Court pronounces sentence.

(Dec. 11) Luis de Leon is formally acquitted.

(Dec. 30) Enters Salamanca in triumph.

(Dec. 31) Attends meeting of Claustro.

Orozco, De la suavidad de Dios.

Fray Diego de Estella, De ratione
 concionandi (Salmanticae).

Cardillo de Villalpando, Declaracion
 del salmo del Miserere (Alcalá).

Pedro de Medina, Libro de la verdad
 (Alcalá).

Francisco de Ávila, Diálogos (Alcalá).
 Alonso Perez, Summa totivs meteor-
 ologiae faciltatis (Salmanticae).

Juan de Villalobos, Grammaticae
 Graecae Introductio (Salmanticae).

Timoneda, El Patrañuelo.

Jean Bodin, Six Livres de la Répu-
 blique (Paris).

Esteban Daza, Libro de musica.

Lazarillo [1st Eng. tr. ?]

(Oct.) Agustín protests against the
 imprisonment of Luis de Leon and
 Martínez.

(Oct. 12) Rudolph II succeeds Maxi-
 milian II.

(March 5) †Requesens. Don Juan de
 Austria succeeds him.

(Dec. 10) Philip II and his nephew
 King Sebastian meet at Guadalupe.

Pope Gregory pronounces sentence on
 Carranza, who dies a few days later
 (May 2).

Quiroga succeeds Carranza as Arch-
 bishop of Toledo.

(Aug. 21) Fray Bartolomé de Medina
 succeeds Fray Mancio in Prima
 Chair of Theology at Salamanca.

El Brocense succeeds Leon de Castro
 in Chair of Greek.

(Dec.) Agustín becomes Archbishop
 of Tarragona.

First permanent theatre opened in
 London.

(July 8) †Fray Mancio de Corpus
 Christi.

(April 3) †Pedro Guerrero, Arch-
 bishop of Granada.

†Titian.

†Cardan.

1576 ? *Francisco de Herrera.

1576 ? Góngora goes to Salamanca ?

1577

(Jan. 2) Obtains new Chair of Theology.

(Jan. 29) Begins to lecture.

(July 28) Obtains leave of absence. In October he is at Madrid, where he
 remains for the rest of the year.

(Dec. 22) The Provincial orders him to publish his works.

1577 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Fray Bartolomé de Medina, In Primam Secundae D. Thomae (Salmanticae).
 Fray Bartolomé de Medina, Breve instruccion de como se ha de administrar el sacramento de la penitencia (Salamanca).
 Juan Verzosa, Epistolarum libri quatuor (Panormi).
 Fray Diego de Zúñiga, De vera religione, etc. (Salmanticae).
 Fray Diego de Zúñiga, In Zachariam Commentaria (Salmanticae).
 Aristotle Physica. Comm. Francisco de Toledo (Compluti).
 Obras del excelente poeta Garci Lasso de la Vega, ed. El Brocense (Salamanca).
 Gerónimo Bermudez, Primeras tragedias españolas (Nise Lastimosa and Nise Laureada) (Madrid).
 Bernardino de Escalante, Discurso de la navegacion que los Portugueses hacen, etc. (Sevilla).
 Francisco de Salinas, De Musica libri septem (Salmanticae).
 Monardes, Eng. tr John Frampton

Contemporary Events

- Sixth religious war in France.
 Prince of Orange enters Brussels.
 Drake starts on voyage round the world.
 (June 17) Martínez returns to Salamanca.
 (May 26) Archduke Albert receives Cardinal's hat at the Escorial.
 (May 27) Queen Ana receives Golden Rose from the Pope.
 *Gerhard Johann Voss.
 †Infanta Maria of Portugal (Sept. 27).
 †Diego de Covarrubias, Bishop of Cuenca.
 †Fray Juan Gallo.
 †Viglius aet. 70.
 1577 ? *Antonio Mira de Amescua.

1578

- (Jan.-Feb.) Is ill of an abscess at the Convent of San Felipe, Madrid.
 (Feb. 20) Is back at Salamanca.
 (March 3) Resumes lectures.
 (April-Oct.) Serves on Committee for reform of the Calendar.
 (Aug. 4) Wins Chair of Moral Philosophy vacant by death (June 23) of Bishop of Segorbe.
 (Oct. 11) Takes degree of Master of Arts at Sahagun.
 (Oct. 25) Incorporates this degree at Salamanca.
 Pedro Juan Núñez, Rhetoricae Institutiones (Barcelona).
 Juan de Ávila, Primera Parte del Epistolario Espiritual (Madrid).
 Fray Diego de Estella, Meditaciones devotissimas del amor de Dios (Salamanca).
 Fray Antonio de Cordoba, Quaestionarium theologicum (Toleti).
 Juan de Valverde Arrieta, Dialogos de la fertilidad y abundancia de España (Madrid).
 Eduardo Lopez, Relacion del viaje de Africa, etc.
 Ercilla, La Araucana Pt. II.
 Centenary of establishment of modern Inquisition in Castille.
 (Aug. 4) Battle of Alcacer Kebir.
 Battle of Gembloux.
 (March 31) Murder of Escobedo.
 (Oct. 1) †Don Juan de Austria.
 Alexander Farnese succeeds him as Governor of Flanders.
 †King Sebastian.
 Cardinal Henrique succeeds him as King of Portugal.
 Arias Montano at Lisbon.
 Nuncio deprives Gracian of his dignities.
 *Luis Velez de Guevara.
 *Pedro Espinosa.

Contemporary Literature

Cristobal Acosta, Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales (Burgos).
Osorio, De vera sapientia libri quinque.
Robert Garnier, Marc-Antoine.
Antonio de Cabezon, Libro de la Musica (Madrid).
Les Oeuvres de P. de Ronsard (Paris).

Contemporary Events

†Francisco de Aldana.
*William Harvey.
(April 19) *Philip III.
(Feb. 12) †Queen Catherina of Portugal
(Sept. 22) †Prince Vincislao [Wenceslas].
(Oct. 18) †Prince Fernando, six-year-old son of Philip II.
†Fray Diego de Estella.
†D. Francisco Sancho, Bishop of Segorbe.
D. Fernando Tricio Bishop of Salamanca during forty days.
1578-93 D. Hierónimo Manrique de Lara, Bishop of Salamanca.
1578 ? †Antonio Moro (Mor or More).

1579

(Dec. 6) Wins Chair of Bible vacant by death of Bishop of Segovia (Sept. 25).
(Dec. 19) Begins to lecture in his new Chair.
Serves on Committee concerning Index.

El Brocense, Organum dialecticum et rhetoricum (Lugduni).
Francisco Martínez, Grammaticae artis integra institutio (Salmanticae).
D. Hilario Brandão, A Voz do Amado.
Pinto, Commentarium in Danielelem.
Spenser, The Shepheard's Calender.
Plutarch's Lives. Eng. tr. North.
Las Casas, Tyrannies et cruautés des Espagnols, etc. French tr. (Anvers).

Arrest of Antonio Perez.
(May 21) Philip II arrives at Badajoz.
(Jan. 10) Duke of Alba ordered to retire to Uceda.
Santa Teresa's last visit to Salamanca.
Quiroga receives Cardinal's hat.
(Nov.) Price set on head of Prince of Orange.
Earl of Desmond defeated in Ireland.
First permanent theatre (Teatro de la Cruz) at Madrid.
†Gregorio Gallo, Bishop of Segovia.
†Juan de Juanes.
(Nov.) †Martínez.
*John Fletcher.

1580

Is absent at Valladolid during part of the first half of the year.
Lectures on Ecclesiastes.
Publishes his first book (*In Cantica Canticatorum* and *In Psalmum* xxvi).

Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega, ed. Herrera [with preliminary Discurso by Francisco de Medina].
Juan de Espinosa, Dialogo en laude de las mugeres (Milan).
Montaigne, Essais. Books I and II.
John Lyly, Euphues.
Thomas Watson, Hecatompithia.

(Jan. 31) †King Henrique of Portugal.
Annexation of Portugal by Spain.
(Feb.) Duke of Alba released and given command of Spanish army in Portugal.
Capture of Lisbon. Prior of Crato escapes to France.

1580 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

Torquato Tasso, *La Gerusalemme Liberata*.
 Camões, *Lusiads*. Span tr., Luis Gomez de Tapia (Salamanca) and Benito Caldera (Alcalá).
 Olympia Fulvia Morata, *Opera Omnia*.

Contemporary Events

Sir Francis Drake returns from voyage round the world
 Influenza (*catarro*) begins its ravages in Spain.
 (June 13) Santa Teresa arrives at Segovia from Toledo.
 Cervantes returns to Spain and is at Madrid in December.
 Spanish troops land in Kerry.
 First centenary of introduction of printing at Salamanca.
 Góngora leaves Salamanca.
 *Quevedo.
 (June 10) †Camões.
 †Osorio.
 †Fray Bartolomé de Medina.
 †Frei Francisco Foreiro.
 †Gerónimo de Zurita.
 †Queen Ana.
 1580? *Juan Ruiz de Alarcon.
 1580? †John Heywood.
 c. 1580 *Francisco Rodriguez Lobo.

1581

(Oct. 13) Decision pronounced at Valladolid confirming him in Chair of Bible.
 Lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians.

1581-2 Lectures on various Psalms.

El Brocense, *Grammatica Graeca* (Antuerpiae).
 El Brocense, *De avtoribus interpretandis* (Antuerpiae).
 Orozco, *Commentaria quaedam in Cantica Canticorum* (Burgis).
 Francisco Sanchez, *Quod nihil scitur* (Lugduni).
 Fray Juan de Tolosa, *Indulgencias de la Correa de San Agustín*.
 Tomás Cerdan de Tallada, *Verdadero gobierno de la Monarquía de España* (Valencia).
 Andrés Rey de Artieda, *Los Amantes*.
Catalogo dos livros que se prohibem (Lisboa).

(June 29) Philip II enters Lisbon.
 Philip II holds Cortes at Thomar.
 Empress Maria, sister of Philip II and widow of Maximilian II, arrives in Spain.
 Bañez succeeds Medina in Prima Chair of Theology.
 Nineteen existing hospitals at Salamanca amalgamated into three.
 (Aug. 16) Santa Teresa leaves Soria for Ávila.
 *Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo.
 †Gaspar Cardillo de Villalpando.
 †Achilles Estaço.
 (Oct. 26) Pedro Chacón.

1582

(Jan. 20) Intervenes in public discussion on Predestination.
 (Feb.) Fray Juan de Santa Cruz denounces to the Inquisition the views put forward concerning Predestination.
 (March 8) Luis de Leon presents an account of the meeting to the Inquisitor at Salamanca.
 (March 31) Presents a further note to the Inquisitor.

- (Feb. 15) Villavicencio writes to him from Madrid.
 (March 17) Is appointed on Committee to consider El Brocense's claim to use his own Grammar in lecturing.
 (Aug. 3) Supreme Court sends for the papers concerning Luis de Leon in the Valladolid Inquisition.
 (Aug. 7) Arresse writes to the Supreme Court recommending that Luis de Leon should be reprimanded.
 (Dec. 11) Is elected Definidor at Chapter at Dueñas.
 Second edition of *In Cantica Canticorum* and *In Ps.* xxvi.

Contemporary Literature

- El Brocense, *Paradoxa* (Antuerpiae).
 El Brocense, ed. of Juan de Mena (Salamanca).
 Fray Cipriano de la Huerga, *Comm.* on Job and Song of Songs (Compluti).
 Pedro Chacon, *Annotationes in Sphaeram, Pomponium Melam, etc.* (Romae).
 Martínez, *Hypotiposeon*, new ed. (Salmanticae).
 Juan Lopez de Úbeda, *Vergel de flores divinas* (Alcalá).
 Juan Lopez de Velasco, *Orthographia y pronunciacion castellana* (Burgos).
 Fray Luis de Granada, *Introduccion del simbolo de la fe* (Salamanca).
 Gregorio Silvestre, *Obras*.
 Algunas Obras de Fernando de Herrera (Sevilla).

Contemporary Events

- Expulsion of Moors first considered.
 Diet of Augsburg.
 New Style adopted at Lisbon [Oct. 5 = Oct. 15].
 (Sept. 8) Quiroga presides over Synod at Toledo [originally convoked for Sept. 8, 1581].
 (Dec. 11) At the Augustinian Chapter at Dueñas the Province of Castille is divided into Provinces of Castille and Andalucía. Fray Juan de Guevara is elected Provincial of Castille.
 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola at Salamanca.
 (Oct. 4) †Santa Teresa at Alba de Tormes.
 (Dec. 12) †Duke of Alba.
 (Nov. 2) †Prince Diego.
 (July 26) †Fray Domingo de Guzman.
 †Frei Thomé de Jesus.
 †George Buchanan.
 1582-6. Duke of Osuna Viceroy of Naples.

1583

Publishes first Spanish works (*La Perfecta Casada* and first part of *De los Nombres de Cristo*).

- Index et catalogus librorum prohibitorum mandato Illustriss. ac Reverendiss. D. D. Gasparis à Quiroga* (Madrid).
 Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid).
 Luis de Pastrana, *Principios de gramatica en romance* (Valladolid).
 Juan de la Cueva, *Primera Parte de las Comedias i Tragedias* (Sevilla) [2nd ed., Sevilla, 1588].
 J. J. Scaliger, *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* (Lutetiae).
 Frei Heitor Pinto, *Opera Omnia Latina*.
 (Jan. 30) Prince Philip sworn as heir to the throne in Palacio de la Ribera at Lisbon.
 (Feb. 11) Philip II leaves Lisbon, travelling by Badajoz and Guadalupe to El Escorial (March 24) and Madrid (March 27).
 Archduke Albert of Austria appointed Governor of Portugal.
 Sir Humphrey Gilbert takes possession of Newfoundland [first British colony].
 Execution of Earl of Desmond.
 *Hugo Grotius.
 *Francisco de Rioja.

1583 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

Fray Luis de Granada, *Obras* (Lugduni, 1583-90).

1583-4. *Index librorum expurgandorum*.

Contemporary Events

*Juan de Jauregui.

*Manuel Severim de Faria.

†Infanta Maria, d. of Philip II.

†Timoneda.

†Juan Maldonado.

†Fernam Mendez Pinto.

1584

(Feb. 3) Is admonished at Toledo by Cardinal Quiroga concerning the views maintained by him in 1582.

(Sept. 22) Is appointed on Committee concerning the suit of the University against the Colegios Mayores.

(Dec. 1) Leaves Salamanca for the Court on this business.

Quiroga, *Manual para administrar los Sacramentos*.

Fray Domingo Bañez, *Commentaria in Secundam Secundae* (Salmanticae).

Fray Pedro de Aragón, *In Secundam Secundae* (Salmanticae).

Fray Diego de Zúñiga, *In Iob Commentaria* (Toleti).

Fray Hernando del Castillo, *Primera Parte de la Historia de San Domingo* (Madrid).

Aristotle, *Los ocho libros de la Republica* [i.e. the *Politica*]. Span. tr. Pedro Simon Abril.

Biblia Sacra cum duplici translatione & scholiis Francisci Vatabli (Salmanticae).

Juan Rufo Gutierrez, *La Austriada*.

Bernardus Comensis, *Lucerna Inquisitorum haereticae pravitatis* (Romae).

Clement Robertson, *A handful of pleasant delights*.

Leon Hebreo, *Philographia Universal*. Span. tr. (Çaragoça).

Diplomatic relations again broken off between Spain and England.

(July 10) Murder of Prince of Orange. Raleigh colonizes Virginia.

El Escorial finished.

El Brocense, accused of heterodox remarks in his lectures on Pliny, is summoned to Valladolid and reprimanded by the Inquisition

*Francis Beaumont.

†Ivan the Terrible.

†St. Carlo Borromeo.

†Francisco de la Torre.

†Francisco de Hollanda.

†Frei Heitor Pinto.

†Pedro da Fonseca.

†Conde de Mattosinhos.

1585

(Feb. 23) Goes three times to the Palace to see the President of the Council.

(Feb. 24) Has interview with President of the Council.

(Ash Wednesday) Is at El Escorial with Portocarrero.

(June 8) Suggests to the University that he be recalled.

(June 15) Is recalled.

(End of July) Returns to Salamanca.

(Aug. 26) Presents his accounts to the University.

(Oct.) Resumes lectures.

Contemporary Literature

- Leon de Castro, *Apologeticus pro lectione apostolica et evangelica contra obtrectatores* (Salmanticae).
 Antonio de Guevara, *Commentaria in Habacuc* (Madrid).
 Antonio de Guevara, *De Vulgatae latinae lectionis auctoritate*.
 Fray Francisco Zumel, *De Deo eiusque operibus* (Salmanticae).
 Vatable's Bible. Vol. II (Salamanca).
 Cervantes, *Primera Parte de la Galatea* (Alcalá).
 Fray Cosmé Damián Hortolá, *In Cantica Canticorum* (Venice).
 Juan de Arfe y Villafañe, *De varia commensuratione*, etc (Sevilla).
 Andrés de Poza, *Hidrografía la más curiosa* (Bilbao).
 Fray Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China* (Roma).
 Giordano Bruno, *Cena delle Ceneri* (London).

Contemporary Events

- †Gregory XIII.
 Accession of Sixtus V.
 Siege of Antwerp.
 Drake sets out on expedition to West Indies.
 Jesuits expelled from England.
 Philip II leaves Madrid (Jan.) for Barcelona (till June), Monzon (till Dec.), and Valencia.
 Junta de Noche instituted.
 *Richelieu.
 *William Drummond of Hawthornden.
 †Ronsard.
 †Muretus (Marc-Antoine Muret).
 †Leon de Castro.

1586

- (April 26) Attends Augustinian Chapter at Burgos.
 (Nov. 2) Committee resolves to send him to Court on the same suit as in 1584.
 (Nov. 17) Leaves Salamanca.
 (Dec. 1) Has an audience of the King.
 Second ed. of *De los Nombres de Cristo* and *La Perfecta Casada*.

- Leon de Castro, *Commentaria in Oseam* (Salmanticae).
 Pedro Chacon, *De nummis* (Romae).
 Hernán Pérez de Oliva, *Obras* (Córdoba).
Cancionero de Lope Maldonado (Madrid).
 Luis Barahona de Soto, *Primera Parte de la Angelica* (Granada).
 Antonio de Escobar, *La felicissima jornada de Felipe II en la conquista de Portugal* (Valencia).
Constitutiones Collegij diuo Iacobo sacri (Salmanticae).
 Jean Dorat, *Poemata* (Lutetiae Parisiorum).
 Gil Vicente, *Works*. Second ed.
 Webbe, *The Discourse of English Poetrie*.

- Sixtus V renews prohibition to priests to attend bull-fights and laments that at Salamanca even Professors of Theology attend them.
 (May 30) Church of El Escorial dedicated.
 Malon de Chaide becomes Prior of Augustinian convent at Barcelona.
 Pragmatica (Oct. 8) regulating titles.
 †Margaret, Duchess of Parma
 †Cardinal Granvelle.
 †Archbishop Agustín.
 †Azpilcueta, aet. 94.
 †Luis de Morales, el Divino.
 (Oct.) †Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen.
 1586 ? †Hernando de Acuña.

1587

(Sept. 16) University orders him to return for the beginning of Term.
(Oct. 4 or 5) Has audience of the King.

Third edition of *De los Nombres de Cristo* and *La Perfecta Casada*.

*Contemporary Literature**Contemporary Events*

El Brocense, *Minerva, seu de causis linguae latinae* (Salmanticae).

Francisco Valles, *De iis quae scripta sunt physice in sacris libris, sive De Sacra Philosophia* (Torino).

Antonio Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas* (Tarragona).

Oliva Sabuco, *Nueva Filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* [By Miguel Sabuco y Alvarez ?].

Sebastián Pérez, *De sensibus Sacrae Scripturae* (Burgos).

Benito Ruiz, *Declaración de las bozes y pronunçiaçiones* (Madrid).

Andrés de Poza, *De la antigva lengua, poblaciones y comarcas de las Españas* (Bilbao).

Juan de Arfe y Villafañe, *Descripción de la traça y ornato de la custodia de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Sevilla).

Fray Hernando del Castillo, *Historia general de Santo Domingo*. 2 vols.

Cosmé de Aldana, *Sonetos y Octavas* (Milano).

1587 (Feb. 18) Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

(April 29) Drake destroys Spanish fleet in Cadiz Harbour.

(May 2) Decree that all Salamanca students shall wear the *sotana*

1588

(Jan. 12) Obtains decree in favour of the University.

(March 2) Hears that the decree is to be recalled for revision.

(April 13) Is appointed with the Abbot of Valladolid to inquire into accounts of the Provincial of Castille.

(June 3) At Salamanca informs the Committee of the progress of the suit and immediately returns to Madrid.

(Sept. 28) Committee insists on his return to Salamanca.

(End of Oct.) Is ill in bed at Madrid.

Edits *Los Libros de la Madre Teresa de Jesus* (Salamanca).

1588-9 Is occupied with the reform of the Augustinian Order.

El Brocense, *De nonnullis Porphyri aliorumque in Dialectica erroribus*.

Pedro Chacon, *De triclinio romano* (Roma).

Argote de Molina, *Nobleza de Andalucía* (Sevilla).

Luis de Molina, *Liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis . . . concordia* (Ulysipone).

Malon de Chaide, *Libro de la Conversion de la Magdalena* (Barcelona).

Philip II institutes inner Consejo de la Real Cámara.

(May 30) Invincible Armada sails from Lisbon.

The Pope declares the Vulgate infallible.

Cormellas press established at Alcalá.

*Jusepe de Ribera (Spagnoletto).

*Thomas Hobbes.

(Feb.) †Marqués de Santa Cruz.

†Fray Luis de Granada.

†Nicolas Monardes.

Contemporary Literature

- Cipriano de Valera, Dos tratados [repr. 1599 and 1851].
 Pedro de Ribadeneira, Historia del Cisma del Reyno de Inglaterra (Madrid).
 Sebastián Pérez, De Sacramentis (Burgos).
 Ginés Pérez de Hita, Historia de los vandos de los Zegries y Abencerajes.
 Francisco Martínez, Oratio pro Antonio Nebrissensi (Salmanticae).
 Jerónimo Almonacid, Commentaria in Cantica Canticorum Salomonis (Compluti).
 Juan González de Mendoza, The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of Chine. Eng. tr. (London . . . and are to be sold at the little North doore of Paules, at the sign of the gun).
 Montaigne, Essais. Book III.

Contemporary Events

- † Paolo Veronese.
 † J. C. Scaliger.
 † Bernardino Telesio.
 † Sperone Speroni aet. 88.
 † Jean Daurat.

1589

- (March 7) Obtains letter from King's Confessor, Loaysa, asking the University of Salamanca for extension of leave.
 (Aug. 22) Returns to Salamanca with the royal *cédula* in his pocket.
 (Aug. 23) Presents it to the University.
 (Aug. 26) Asks for arrears of salary and two years' leave of absence.
 (Oct. 5) Writes from Madrigal concerning his accounts with the University. Publishes *In Abdiam* and third enlarged edition of *In Cantica Canticorum*.
 Pedro Simon Abril, Apuntamientos de como se deve reformar las doctrinas (Madrid).
 Pedro de Ribadeneira, Tratado de la tribulacion.
 Juan de Orozco y Covarrubias, Emblemas morales.
 Martín de Roa, De accentu, &c. (Córdoba).
 Juan de Herrera, Svmario y breve declaracion de los diseños y estampas de la fabrica de San Lorenzo el Real (Madrid).
 The Arte of English Poesie.
 Francisco de Andrade, Primeiro Cerco . . . de Diu.

- † Henri III.
 English attacks on Cadiz, Lisbon, and Vigo.
 (July 15) Large part of Augustinian convent at Salamanca destroyed by fire.
 (Sept. 1) † Fray Pedro Malon de Chaide.
 † Pero de Andrade Caminha.
 1589-98 War between France and Spain.

1590

- Spends the first half of the year at Salamanca, is at Madrigal in July and goes to Madrid in August, and sets to work actively to put into execution the Brief concerning the Carmelite nuns. Twice he convokes a Chapter of the Carmelite Order, and twice the King prevents it. At the end of this year or in the first weeks of 1591 he goes to Toledo and perhaps to Belmonte.
 Publishes *De utriusque agni*, &c.

1590 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Index of Sixtus V.
 El Inca, La tradvzion del indio de los tres libros de Leon Hebreo (Madrid).
 Fray Juan de los Angeles, Triunfos del amor de Dios (Medina).
 Francisco de Ribera, Vida de Santa Teresa (Madrid).
 Pero Sanchez, Historia moral y philosophica (Toledo).
 Zumel, De Deo. 2nd ed. (Salman-ticae).
 Azpilcueta, First complete ed. of Latin works. 4 vols. (Romae).
 José de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias. Span. tr. (Seuilla).
 Guarini, Il Pastor Fido.
 Sir Philip Sidney, Arcadia. Books I-III.
 Spenser, The Faerie Queene. Books I-III.
c. 1590 Shakespeare begins to write his plays.

Contemporary Events

- 1590 (Aug. 27) †Sixtus V.
 (Sept. 27) †Urban VII.
 (Dec. 4) †Gregory XIV.
 (March 14) Battle of Ivry.
 Siege of Paris.
 Antonio Pérez escapes to Zaragoza.
 (Jan. 13) †Salinas. Roque de Salamanca succeeds him in Chair of Music.
 Doña María de Molina founds Augustinian College at Madrid.
 *Manuel de Faria e Sousa.
 *Johann Matthäus Mayfarth.
 †Ambroise Paré.
 †Jacques Cujas.
 †Alonso Sanchez Coello.
 †Frei Bartholomeu dos Martyres.
c. 1590-5 Lope de Vega in the service of the Duke of Alba at Alba de Tormes.

1591

- (Feb.) Returns to Salamanca.
 (Aug. 14) Is elected at Madrigal Provincial of Castille.
 (Aug. 23) Dies in the Augustinian convent at Madrigal de las Altas Torres and is buried at Salamanca. Fray Juan Alonso de Curiel succeeds him in the Chair of Bible.
 El Brocense, In Artem Poeticam Horatij Annotationes (Salman-ticae).
 Virgil, Eclogues, ed. El Brocense (Salmanticae).
 Benito Pereira, Adversus fallaces et superstitiosas artes, hoc est, De Magica (Ingolstadt).
 Vicente Espinel, Diversas rimas (Madrid).
 Hernando de Acuña, Varias poesías (Madrid).
 Pedro da Fonseca, Isagoge philosophica (Olyssipone).
 Cosmé de Aldana, Invectiva contra el vulgo y su maledicencia (Madrid).
 Sidney, Astrophel and Stella.
 Michael Drayton, A Harmonie of the Church.
 Accession of Innocent IX.
 (Dec. 30) †Innocent IX.
 Philip II at Tarazona.
 Zaragoza tumults. Beheadal of Juan Lanuza, Justicia Mayor of Aragon.
 (Nov.) Antonio Pérez escapes from Zaragoza.
 Trinity College, Dublin, founded.
 (Sept. 19) Basilio Ponce de Leon professes in Augustinian convent at Salamanca.
 *Guercino.
 *Robert Herrick.
 †San Juan de la Cruz.
 †Ambrosio de Morales.
 †Beato Alonso de Orozco
 †Gaspar Gil Polo.
 †Fray Diego de Tapia.
 †Antonio Rubeiro Chiado.
 †Pedro de Ribadeneira.
 1591 ? †Huarte de San Juan.

1592

Contemporary Literature

- Arias Montano, *De varia república, sive Commentarium in librum Iudicum* (Antuerpiae).
 Juan de Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri xx* [*also libri xxv*] (Toleti).
 Fray Hernando de Zarate, *Discurso de la Paciencia Cristiana* (Alcalá).
 Fray Hernando del Castillo, *Segunda Parte de la Historia general de Santo Domingo* (Valladolid).
 Pedro de Ledesma, *Tractatus de magnomatrimonii sacramento* (Salmanticae).
 Juan Diaz Rengifo, *Arte Poética Española* (Salamanca).
 Francisco de Montanos, *Arte de música, etc.* (Valladolid).
 Osorio, *Opera omnia*. 4 vols. (Romae).
 Agustín, *Dialoghi*. Ital. tr. (Roma).
 Gaspar de Baeza, *Opera omnia* (Matriti).
 Cristóbal de Acosta, *Tratado en contra y pro de la vida solitaria, and Tratado en loor de las mugeres* (Venetia).
 Samuel Daniel, *Cleopatra*.

Contemporary Events

- Clement VIII, Pope 1592-1605.
 First centenary of discovery of America.
 (April) Spanish under Farnese take Rouen.
 Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses transferred from Valladolid to Salamanca.
 †Alexander Farnese.
 †Montaigne.
 †Francisco Valles.
 †Fadrique Furió Ceriol.
 †Fray Pedro de Aragón.
 †Robert Greene.

1593

- Arias Montano, *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam* (Antverpiae).
 Arias Montano, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri ix* (Lugduni).
 André de Resende, *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*.
 Luis de Molina, *De iustitia et iure*.
 García de Loaisa, *Collectio Conciliorum Hispaniae* (Matriti).
 Sidney, *Arcadia*. Books I-V (2nd ed.).
 Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*.

- Henri IV turns Roman Catholic and captures Paris.
 Philip II founds Institute of Mathematics at Madrid.
 Archduke Albert returns to Madrid from Portugal.
 Pastelero de Madrigal pretends to be King Sebastian.
 *Izaak Walton.
 *George Herbert.
 (Nov. 20) †Cardinal Quiroga.
 (March) †Fray Hernando del Castillo.
 †Christopher Marlowe.
 †Amyot.

1594

- Statutes of Salamanca University.
 Pedro Sanchez, *Libro del Reyno de Dios* (Madrid).
 Fray Lorenzo de Zamora, *Monarchia Mystica de la Iglesia*. Pt. I (Madrid).

- (March) Spanish garrison evacuates Paris.
 Don Juan de Zúñiga, Visitor of Salamanca University.
 *Nicolas Poussin.
 †Ercilla.

1594 *cont.**Contemporary Literature*

- Fray Gabriel Vazquez, *De cultu adorationis* (Compluti).
 Fray Gregorio Núñez Coronel, *De vera Christi Ecclesia* (Romae).
 Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece*.
 Hooker, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. Books I-IV.
 Nash, *The Unfortunate Traveller*.
 Satire Ménippée.
 Diogo Bernardez, *Varias Rimas*.
 Corte Real, *Naufragio*.
 Pedro de Mariz, *Dialogos de varia historia*.

Contemporary Events

- † Francisco de la Torre.
 † Giovanni Pier Luigi da Palestrina.
 † Tintoretto.

1595

- El Brocense, *Grammatices Latinae Institutiones* (Salmanticae).
 Fray Pedro de Aragón, *De Iustitia et Iure*.
 P. Juan de Santiago, *De arte rhetorica libri quatuor* (Hispani).
 Fray José de Sigüenza, *La Vida de San Jerónimo* [Vol. I of his *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*].
 Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Tratado de la religion y virtud que debe tener un principe christiano*.
 Fray Jerónimo Román, *Repúblicas del mundo* (Salamanca).
 Camões, *Rythmas*.
 Spenser, *Epithalamion*.
 Sidney, *Defense of Poesie* [written in 1581].
 1595-1604 Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada*.

- Archduke Albert appointed Governor of Flanders and betrothed to Infanta Clara Eugenia, d. of Philip II.
 Sir Walter Raleigh explores the river Orinoco.
 First 'Plomos' discovered near Granada.
 *Juan Eusebio Nieremberg at Madrid.
 *Jean Chapelain.
 †Torquato Tasso.
 †Luis Barahona de Soto.
 †Fray Diego de Chaves.
 1595? *Thomas Carew.

1596

- Index of Clement VIII.
 Pedro de Valencia, *Academica, sive de iudicio erga verum ex ipsis primis fontibus*, etc. (Antverpiae).
 Alonso Lopez Pinciano, *Filosofía Antigua Poética* (Madrid).
 Angeli Poltiani Siluae cum scholiis Francisci Sanctij Brocensis (Salmanticae).
 Diogo Bernardez, *Rimas Varias and O Lima*.
 Trancoso, *Contos*. Pt. III.
 Spenser, *Faerie Queene*. Books IV-VI.
 Sir Walter Raleigh, *Guiana*.

- Spanish fleet wrecked off Cape Finisterre on its way to Ireland.
 English fleet under Lord Howard of Effingham and Essex sacks Cadiz.
 'Motín de los papeles' at Salamanca against transference of documents from University.
 *René Descartes.
 *James Shirley.
 †Sir Francis Drake.

1597

Contemporary Literature

- Fray Diego de Zúñiga, *Philosophiae prima pars* (Toleti).
 Fray Gregorio Núñez Coronel, *De optimo reipublicae statu* (Romae).
 Juan de Pineda, *Comm. on Book of Job* (Madrid).
 Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Book V.
 Bacon's *Essays*.
 Portuguese *Index*.

Contemporary Events

- Philip II recognizes independence of Holland.
 Diet of Ratisbon.
 Hernán Tello captures Amiens by a stratagem.
 †Catalina, Duchess of Savoy, d. of Philip II.
 †Fernando de Herrera.
 †Juan de Herrera.

1598

- Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca, *Tratado del amor de Dios*. Pt. I (Toledo).
 Lope de Vega, *La Arcadia* and *La Dragontea*.
 Giovanni Florio, *The Worlde of Wordes*.

- Peace of Vervins. Edict of Nantes.
 Centenary of Vasco da Gama's arrival at Calicut.
 (Sept. 13) †Philip II.
 Accession of Philip III.
 (May 2) Acting of plays forbidden at Madrid.
 Globe Theatre burnt.
 *Zurbarán.
 †Argote de Molina.
 †André Falcam de Resende.
 †Arias Montano.

1599

- Juan de Mariana, *De rege et regis institutione libri iii* (Toleti).
 Juan de Mariana, *De ponderibus et mensuris* (Toleti).
 Mateo Alemán, *Primera Parte de Guzman de Alfarache* (Madrid).
 Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de illustres y memorables varones* (Sevilla).
 Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias* (Madrid).
 Fray Diego de Yepes, *Vida de la Madre Teresa de Jesus* (Madrid).
 Fray Diego Alvarez, *Commentaria in Esaiam* (Romae).
 Fray Luis de Sotomayor, *Comm. on Song of Songs*.
 Fray Alonso Chacón, *De ieiuniis* (Romae).
 Manuel Ledesma, *Apologia en defensa de la astrologia* (Valencia).
 Divi Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi *Opera* (Matriti).

- Famine at Salamanca.
 *Cromwell.
 *Van Dyck.
 *Velazquez.
 †Edmund Spenser.
 †Esteban de Garibay.
 †Francisco Guerrero.

1600

Contemporary Literature

- Epictetus, *Encheiridion*. Span. comm. and tr. El Brocense.
 Fray José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*. Pt. II.
 Luis de Marmol Carbajal, *Historia de la rebelion y castigo de los moriscos* (Malaga).
 Baltasar de Céspedes, *Discurso de las letras humanas*.
 Antonio Ortiz, *Relacion de la venida de los Reyes Católicos al Colegio Inglés de Valladolid* (Madrid).
 Fray Juan de Montoya, *La Regla de San Agustín* (Córdoba).
 Juan Maldonado, *Disputationes de Fide*.
 João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco Xavier*.
 William Gilbert, *De Magnete*.

Contemporary Events

- War between France and Savoy.
 East India Company formed.
 (July) Philip III and Queen Margarita visit Salamanca.
 Colegio de Santa Catalina founded at Salamanca.
 Isaac Casaubon becomes Professor of Greek in the University of Paris.
 Earl of Essex executed [Feb. 21, 1600. O.S.].
 Ruiz de Alarcón at Salamanca.
 (Aug.) †Fray Juan de Guevara.
 (Nov. 10) El Brocense appears before the Inquisitors at Valladolid.
 (Dec. 11?) †El Brocense in his son's house at Valladolid.
 †Pedro de Portocarrero.
 †Bishop Arraez.
 †Luis de Molina.
 †João de Lucena.
 †Richard Hooker.
 Giordano Bruno burnt at Rome.
 (Jan. 17.) *Pedro Calderón de la Barca.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF REFERENCES IN LUIS DE LEON'S WORKS

LUIS DE LEON's authorities range from the earliest Hebrew and classical writers, through the saints and doctors of the Church and medieval scholasticists and scholastics, to contemporary (sixteenth century) authors. Great as is the learning displayed, he is never a pedant. Sometimes a string of authors, e. g. Origen, Basil, Gregory, Jerome, Hilary, and Ambrose (in six lines), has a charm of its own, while occasionally the reader is introduced to names less familiar, such as Clithoveus, Theopompus, and Haegepsipus [*sic*]. The following list of persons quoted or referred to by Luis de Leon does not claim to be complete and omits many references to saints and doctors of the Church.]

- | | |
|---|--|
| Abelardus (Petrus), iv. 101, 462. | Archidiaconus, vi. 362. |
| Abulensis, <i>freq.</i> | Argentina (Thomas de), vii. 142. |
| Adamus, i. 131. | Arias Montano (Benito) [<i>See</i> Montanus], <i>Doc. inéd.</i> x. 188, 376, 477, 491; xi. 18, 19, 67 (<i>Biblia de Benedicto</i>), 192, &c. ³ |
| Aegidius Romanus, vii. 345. | Arimnensis (Gregorius), v. 132. |
| Aetius, <i>Exp. de Job</i> , vi. 4. | Aristotle, <i>passim</i> . |
| Albertus Campensis, iv. 233. | Arrian, <i>Exp. de Job</i> , iii. 13. |
| Albertus Magnus, iv. 20 (<i>De Plantis</i>) <i>et freq.</i> | Arrio, <i>Doc. inéd.</i> x. 358. |
| Alexander, <i>freq.</i> | Augustine, St. (<i>De Civitate Dei</i>), <i>freq.</i> |
| Alexander Alensis, <i>freq.</i> | Ausías March, ⁴ <i>Cantar de Cantares</i> , ii. 9. |
| Aliaco (Petrus de), v. 131; vi. 37. | Ausonius, <i>Exp. de Job</i> , xxxi. 16 (epigr.); ⁵ xxxviii. 15; ⁶ <i>De los Nombres</i> , ii. 175 (Idyll. 16); cf. Dueñas oration (<i>Revue Hispanique</i> , t. L, p. 50). |
| Almainus, <i>freq.</i> | Averroes, vii. 142 (?), 160. |
| Alphonsus Toletanus, vi. 141. | Avicenna, vii. 152. |
| Ancinas ? ¹ , vii. 142. | |
| Ancona (Augustinus de), v. 376. | |
| Antisidorensis, v. 611. | |
| Apollinarius, <i>Doc. inéd.</i> , xi. 82. | |
| Apollodorus, i. 90 (Lat. tr.), <i>Exp. de Job</i> , vii. 1 (Span. tr.) ² | |
| Aquila, <i>Doc. inéd.</i> , xi. 107, &c. | |

¹ Probably = Averroes.

² τὰ μεγάλα δῶρα τῆς τύχης ἔχει φέβον, κ.τ.λ.

³ In the Spanish version of the Commentary on Ecclesiastes, iv. 5-6, an interpolated passage refers to Arias Montano, 'varón doctísimo', and to 'un libro que intituló Heremias o de actione'

⁴ Span. tr. of st. i. ll. 1-2:

'Qui no es trist de nos dictats no cur
O en algun temps qui sia trist estat.'

(*Obras del poeta Moysen Ausías March, corregidas de los errores q̃ tienen*, etc., Valladolid, 1555).

⁵ 'La gracia que tarda es desgraciada,' &c.

⁶ 'Coge, doncella, las púrpureas rosas' (*Collige, virgo, rosas*). See also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica*, p. 162.

- Avila (Francisco de), *Doc. inéd.* x. 476, 477.
 Ayala (Martín Pérez de), iv. 254, 264 (*Detraitionibus* and *De imaginibus*).
 Azpilcueta (Martín de), *freq.*
 Bañez (Domingo), *Doc. inéd.* x. 478.
 Bartolus, v. 426.
 Basilides haereticus, i. 35; quidam Basilides, iv. 462.
 Basilius, epigr., *De Venere et Vino*, i. 318.
 Bassus haereticus, vii. 212.
 Beda, i. 210; *Doc. inéd.* x. 194.
 Bible (Alcalá and Antwerp editions), i. 492; iii. 108.
 Boethius, *De Consolatione*, iv. 64, 76; vii. 420.
 Bonaventura, St., *freq.*
 Bucer (Martin) [Buzerus], i. 497; vii. 110.
 Budé (Guillaume) [Budaëus], v. 404.
 Burgensis (Antonio de Burgos of Salamanca?), *freq.*
 Caerinthus, vii. 153.
 Cajetano, Cardinal (Tommaso de Vio), *passim*.
 Callimachus, ap. St. Paul to Titus, v. 236.
 Cano (Melchor), *freq.*
 Capreolus, *passim*.
 Cassiodorus, i. 249.
 Castro (Alfonso de), *passim*.
 Castro (Leon de). See Leo.
 Catherinus (Ambrosius), vii. 254, &c.
 Catullus ('Soles occidere,' v. 4), i. 292.
 Chacon (Pedro), *Doc. inéd.* x. 188.
 Christo (Franciscus de)¹, iv. 12.
 Cicero, *freq.*²
 Clario (Isidoro), *Doc. inéd.* x. 226.
 Claudian, i. 391;³ i. 359; *Exp. de Job*, xxxviii. 23.
 Claudius Archiepiscopus Taurinensis, iv. 33.
 Clithoveus, Clitoveus (in *Antilutheranus*), iv. 101; v. 526.
 Conradus, vi. 141.
 Conradus Brunus, iv. 233.
 Demetrius, v. 233.
 Democritus, *La Perf. Cas.*, § xvi.
 Demosthenes, vii. 146.
 Diodorus, *Doc. inéd.* xi. 82.
 Dionysus of Halicarnassus, iii. 57.
 Dionysius Carthusianus, vii. 246.
 Dioscorides, i. 11, 200; ii. 286; iv. 15.
 Donatus, iii. 212.
 Dnedon, *freq.*
 Ecatheus, v. 233.
 Eck (Johann) (Ekus), v. 132, 526.
 Ennius, ii. 145.
 Epictetus, *De los Nombres*, i. 151.
 Epicurus, vii. 146.
 Epimenides, v. 236.
 Erasmus, vi. 335⁴; iii. 213; iv. 132, 138; v. 235, 240, 241, 249.
 Estienne (Bible of Robertus), v. 297; *Doc. inéd.* x. 391, 534; xi. 62.
 Eugubinus (Augustinus), *De mundi fabrica*, vii. 345; *Doc. inéd.* x. 391.
 Euripides, i. 427; *La Perf. Cas.*, Introd. (*Medea*); 1b. § 10⁵, vi. 219⁶; *Exp. de Job*, xxix. 1.⁷
 Euthimio, *Doc. inéd.* x. 194, 294, 391, 413, &c.

¹ The Portuguese Augustinian, Frei Francisco de Cristo († 1587).

² ii. 487 (*De legibus*), Job, xxxi. 8 ('el Orador'), *La Perf. Cas.*, § v (*Pro Roscio*), vi. 207 (*De officiis*, *De iustitia*), vii. 143 (*De nat. deorum*), vi. 250 (*De amic.*), i. 313 (*Pro Coelio*), ii. 92 (*De orat.*), v. 18 (*De finibus*), i. 310 et *freq.* (*Tusc.*), i. 449: illud poetae, ius summum summa injuria est (*De officiis*, i. 10), &c.

³ 'Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,' &c. (*In Rufinum*, i. 1.)

⁴ 'Qui tamen in annotationibus super hunc locum [Luke xi. 41] caute legendus est.' See also *La Perf. Cas.*, § 10: 'el versillo griego De murar nace el amor' (ap. Er. *Adagia*).

⁵ Spanish prose translation of the eleven lines beginning

ἀλλ' οὐπορ' οὐπορ', οὐ γὰρ εἰσπάξ' ἐρῶ. (*Andromache*, 943-53).

⁶ 'Mihi saepe occurrit Orestes ille tragicus furis agitated propter ultionem patris.'

⁷ 'Al hombre que dichoso un tiempo hasido,' &c. (κεκλημένω δὲ φωτὶ μακαρίφ, κ.τ.λ., *Heracles Furens*, 1291-1293). Wilamowitz-Moellendorff rejects these lines as spurious.

LUIS DE LEON'S WORKS

- Felicianus, iv. 252.
 Fero (Juan), *Doc. inéd.* x. 560.
 Ferrariensis, *Contra Gentes*, iv. 63, 131.
 Ficino (Marsilio), *De lumine*, vii. 345.
 Florentinus, v. 394; Archiepiscopus Florentinus, vi. 374.
 Foreiro (Francisco), *Doc. inéd.* x. 99, 289.
 Gabriel, iv. 76. 115.
 Galatinus (*De Arcanis catholicae fidei*), iii. 474.
 Galen, iii. 23; iv. 15; vi. 4; Job, xli. 18.
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¹ The Dominican Robert Holcot († 1349) ?

² i. 44; ii. 107, 239; v. 249; vi. 332; *La Perf. Cas.*, § v; *Exp. de Job*, i. 22, xxxi. 12; *De los Nombres*, i. 203, ii. 183; Dueñas or., *Rev. Hisp.*, pp. 39, 48.

³ ii. 35 (Od. iv. 12); i. 359 (Od. iii. 29, ll. 29-46); i. 379 (Od. iii. 16, ll. 17, 18); i. 293 (Od. i. 15); ii. 279 (Od. i. 6, ll. 5-6); i. 396 (Epod. 2); vi. 294 (Sat. i. 106); iii. 106 and *Exp. de Job*, viii. 20 (Od. iv. 4, ll. 57-60); i. 292 (Od. i. 4); i. 293, 488 (Od. iv. 7, ll. 7-8); i. 469, *Exp. de Job*, xxviii. 4 (Epist. I. i. 45); xxxvii. 6 (Od. iii. 10, ll. 7-8); ib. xxxviii. 15 (Od. iv. 7, ll. 7-12); ib. xxxviii. 32 (Od. iii. 27, ll. 17-24; Od. iii. 7, ll. 1-8), *De los Nombres*, ii. 143 (Epist. I. ii. 51-4); vii. 422-3 (Od. iv. 9 misquoted); ii. 29 (Od. iii. 11); ii. 153 (Od. iv. 12); i. 359 (Od. iii. 29, ll. 29-45); ii. 91 (Od. i. 14), 148 (Od. i. 3); *De los Nombres*, ii. 169 (Od. iii. 3?); Dueñas or., *Rev. Hisp.*, p. 30 (Od. ii. 18); ii. 93, 284 (Ad. Pis. 1 and 37); iii. 72 (Od. i. 3, ll. 37, 38); ii. 29 (Od. iii. 11); ii. 30 (Od. ii. 5); ii. 153 (Od. iv. 12), &c.

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¹ 'Nuestras vidas son los rios
 Que van a dar en la mar
 Que es el morir.'

² ? = Mateo Adriano, whose *Introductiones in Linguam Hebraicam* appeared in 1518.

³ *Respuesta de Fr. Luis de Leon estando preso* (cf. *Ex Ponto*, i. 9-10); *La Perf. Cas.*, § 16 (*Metam.* iv. 481 et seq.); *De los Nombres*, ii. 186, cf. *Cant. de Cant.* i. 1 (*Metam.* i. 450 et seq.); *Opera*, i. 433 (*Epist.* ii. 85).

⁴ III. 164 (*Athlanticus*); *Exp. de Job*, xxviii. 5 (diálogo intitulado *Athlante*); *De los Nombres*, i. 147; ii. 128, 159; *Op.* vi. 211, 227; Dueñas or, *Rev. Hísp.*, p. 48.

⁵ Eight lines beginning 'Cave quemquam alienum.' *Aulularia*, I. iii. 12-19.

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 Virgil, *freq.*⁴ (*Doc. inéd.* x. 510).

¹ 'Es bella cosa al ver la hembra hermosa', &c.

² 'Hoc unum scio me nihil scire.'

³ Idyll. vi. 39.

⁴ *Exp. de Job*, xv. 23 (Sp. tr. from Aen. x.); xxiv. 4 (ten lines from Ecl. i); ix. 9 (two octaves tr. from Georg. i); xxxvii. 7 (four lines from Georg. i); xxxvi. 33 (four lines from Georg. i); xxxviii. 32; xxxix. 28 (two octaves from Aen. iii); *Opera*, i. 83, 144, 137-8, 196, *Opera*, i. 399 (Aen. x. 746); i. 395 (ten lines from Georg. ii); i. 396 (six lines from Georg. ii); i. 294 (tr. from Georg. i); i. 297 (tr. from Aen. ii); vii. 357 (Aen. ii. 254, 255); v. 249, 250; vi. 303; *De los Nombres*, i. 129, *Opera*, i. 468 (varium et mutabile semper, Aen. iv. 569), *De los Nombres*, iii. 54-55 (Georg. ii. 338-45); *Opera*, v. 450 (Aen. i and iv), ii. 108 (Ecl. x. 42, 43), 152, 157, 158 (Georg. i. 286, ii. 201, Ecl. x. 77), 236 (Ecl. ii. 68), 413; i. 88 (Georg. iv. 560-1); ii. 94 (Georg. ii. 68); i. 482 (Aen. vi. 324); iii. 73, 96, 117; ii. 30, 31 (Georg. iv. 70-9, 191-4), &c. &c.

- Vitoria (Francisco de), *freq.* Xenophon, *La Perf. Cas.*, § 2 (*Memo-rabilia*).
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¹ The following references are left to the reader's perspicacity:—

(a) *Exp. de Job*, xxi. 13: Como un poeta dice, el morir no es tan amargo en sí como es trabajoso en su vigilia.

(b) *Opera*, ii. 287: quem bonum facit barba.

(c) *Opera*, i. 506: Illud cuiusdam poetae: vitam fortunâ regi, non sapientiâ.

(d) *Opera*, iii. 60: Dixit Poeta: O toties servi.

(e) *Exp. de Job*, xxxviii. 38:

Tan antiguo es en su vela
Cuanto es antigua la tierra

(of the cock).

(f) *Exp. de Job*, xxxi. 1: en el amor los ojos son la guía (el poeta latino).

(g) *Exp. de Job*, xxxi. 26:

Estaba acaso saludando a Febo
Al tiempo que apuntaba en el Oriente

(aquel antiguo versecillo)

(h) *Cant. de Cant.* i. 9: un bello manto una beldad adorna (como dijo uno en su poesía).

(i) illectos nantes dulci modulamine vocis
mergebant avidae fluctibus Aoniis.

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